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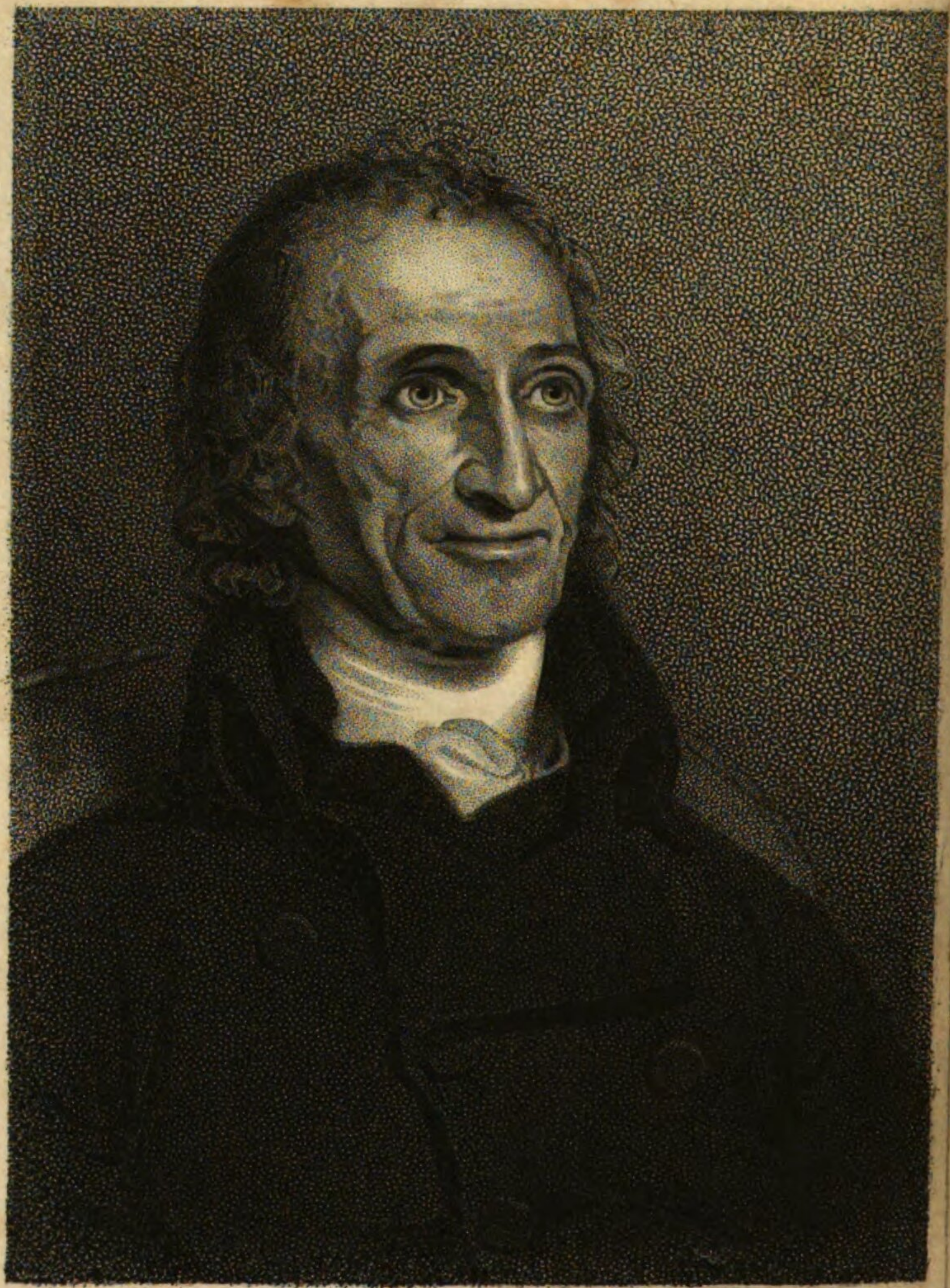
OF PHYSICS

ALFRED L. LOMAX, LL. D.

CHICAGO, ILL., 1900

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
THE REVEREND
ALEXANDER GEDDES, LL. D.

MEMOIRS
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REV. ALEXANDER GEDDES.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
THE REVEREND
ALEXANDER GEDDES, LL. D.

By JOHN MASON GOOD.

"TU FERRE UNICUS ES, QUEM, SI LICERET, JUDICEM MIHI EXPETEREM; QUANDOQUIDEM TU IN LITERIS BIBLICIS HABITAS, IN EODEM STADIO MAGNA CUM LAUDE DECURRIS, OMNESQUE DIFFICULTATES ET MOLESTIAS, QUÆ TAIEM CURSUM IMPEDIUNT, IPSA EXPERIENTIA EDOCTUS, NOSTI; UT ADEO NEMO FACILE AD JUDICIUM TAM EQUIUS QUAM RECTIUS FERENDUM COGITARI POSSIT."

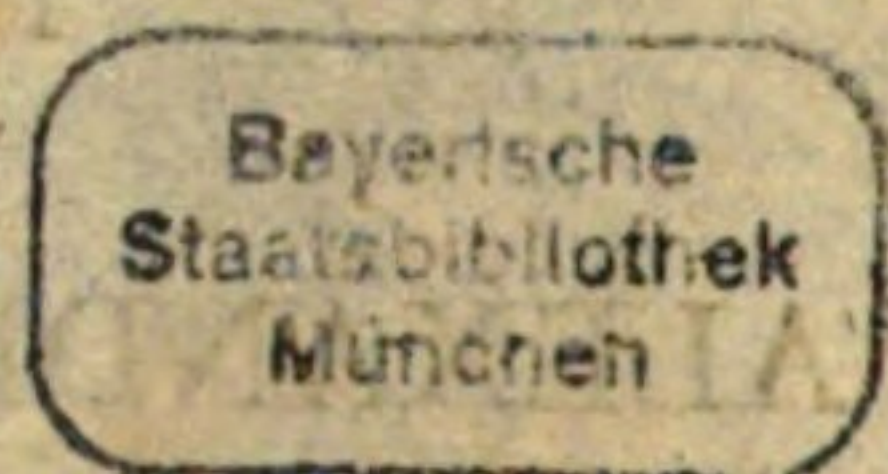
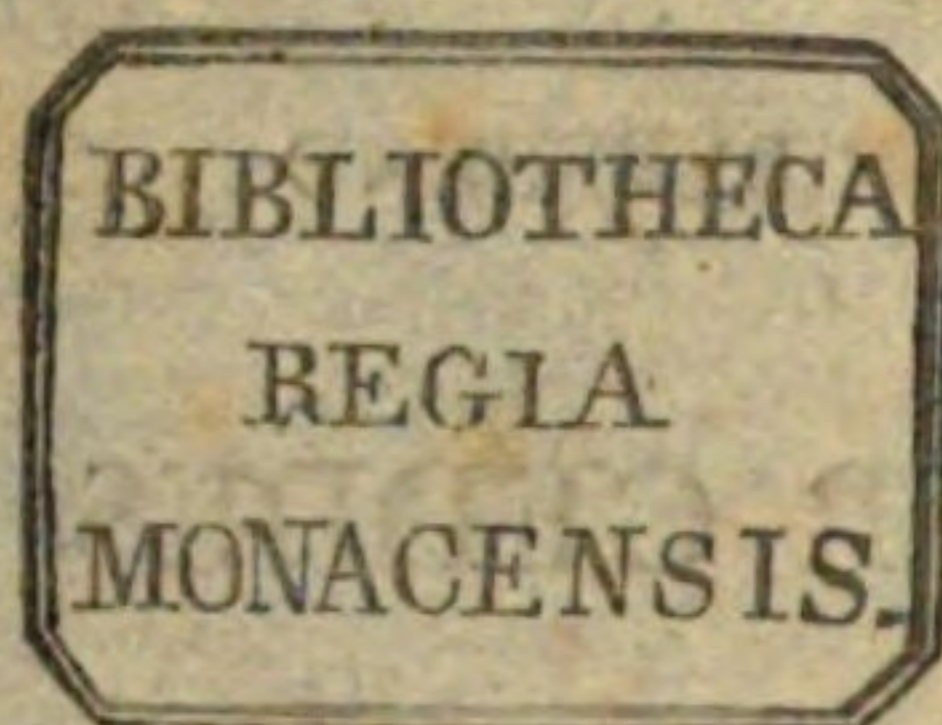
EICHHORN ad GEDDES.—See Appendix, p. 542.

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1803.



LONDON:

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ST. PAUL'S, CHURCH-YARD.

1803.

TO
THE RIGHT HONORABLE
ROBERT LORD PETRE,
BARON OF WRITTLE, &c.
THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF THE
REV. ALEXANDER GEDDES, LL. D.
ARE,
WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY
THE AUTHOR.

TO
THE RIGHT HONORABLE
ROBERT LORD RUSSELL
BARRON OF WYRTTLE, &c.
THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF THE
REV. ALEXANDER CARRIE, LL.D.
AND
WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED
BY
THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

To write the life of a friend is a difficult and a delicate undertaking: the public are entitled to a correct impartiality of statement, while the heart of the writer, from a sacred regard to the duties which friendship itself inculcates, is perpetually prone to magnify the merits and to soften the imperfections of the character he attempts to delineate. This difficulty is considerably augmented when the biography relates to a man of pre-eminent talents and acquisitions; for, as a stronger light produces a darker shadow, superiority of genius is not infrequently accompanied with a superiority of eccentricities and defects. Yet to abstain from the task altogether, or to entrust it to the more frigid hands of a stranger, is still wider to deviate from the inviolable claims of friendship, than to hazard the

commission of an act of injustice by a defective and incompetent portraiture. In the present instance, however, I have felt more at liberty, from a full knowledge that the character I have attempted to trace would ask, if he could speak, that nothing but the plain unvarnished truth should be related of him—would seek for no apology—and be solicitous alone that his virtues and his errors, his merits and his imperfections, should be weighed in the same impartial balance. I have pursued therefore, as far as I have been able, the plan which I am persuaded would be most acceptable to himself. I have freely commended and I have freely blamed—I have deviated from his opinions where I have seen reason for dissent, and I have vindicated him in instances where I have conceived the motives of his conduct to have been misrepresented or misunderstood. The

office I have undertaken is, after all, by no means discharged to my own satisfaction, and I am afraid still less so to that of the public. Be the defects of the ensuing volume however what they may, I am not the only person responsible for them, having merely engaged in it at the repeated and flattering solicitations of a friend, for whom to request is to command, but who, to have ensured success, ought to have written it himself.

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 mand, but who, to have ensured success,
 ought to have written himself.

A CATALOGUE
OF THE WORKS OF
THE REV. ALEXANDER GEDDES, LL. D.
IN THE ORDER OF THEIR PUBLICATION.

- I.—1779. **SELECT** Satires of Horace, translated into English Verse and for the most Part adapted to the present Times and Manners. Cadell, quarto, pp. 128.
- II.—1781. Linton, a Tweedale Pastoral. Elliot, Edinburgh, quarto, pp. 9.
- III.—1783. Cursory Remarks on a late Fanatical Publication, entitled a full Detection of Popery, &c. submitted to the candid Perusal of the liberal-minded of every Denomination. Keating, octavo, pp. 53.
- IV.—1786. Prospectus of a new Translation of the Holy Bible, from corrected Texts of the Originals, compared with the ancient Versions: with various Readings, explanatory Notes, and critical Observations. Faulder, quarto, pp. 151.
- V.—1787. Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, containing Queries, Doubts, and Difficulties, relative to a vernacular Version of the Holy Scriptures. Faulder, quarto, pp. 87.
- VI.—1787. Letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley, in which the Author attempts to prove, by one prescriptive Argument, that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was a primitive Tenet of Christianity. Faulder, octavo, pp. 36.
- VII.—1787. Letter to a Member of Parliament, on the Case of the Protestant Dissenters, and the Expediency of a general Repeal of all penal Statutes that regard religious Opinions. Faulder, octavo, pp. 37.
- VIII.—1788. Proposals for printing by Subscription a New Translation of the Holy Bible, from collected Texts of the

Originals, with various Readings, explanatory Notes, and critical Observations—with a Specimen of the Work. Faulder, quarto, pp. 22.

- IX.—1790. Dr. Geddes's General Answer to the Queries, Counsels, and Criticisms, that have been communicated to him since the Publication of his Proposals for printing a New Translation of the Bible. Faulder, quarto, pp. 32.
- X.—1790. An Answer to the Bishop of Comana's Pastoral Letter, by a protesting Catholic. Faulder, octavo, pp. 36.
- XI.—1790. A Letter to the Right Rev. the Archbishops and Bishops of England: pointing out the only sure Means of preserving the Church from the Dangers that now threaten her. By an Upper Graduate. Johnson, octavo, pp. 25.
- XII.—1790. Epistola Macaronica ad Fratrem, de iis quæ gesta sunt in nupero dissentientium Conventu, Londini habito, prid. id. Febr. 1790. Johnson, quarto, pp. 21.
- XIII.—Epistola Macaronica, &c. with an English Version for the Use of the Ladies and Country Gentlemen. Johnson, quarto, pp. 30.
- XIV.—1790. Carmen Sæculare pro Gallica Gente tyrannidi aristocraticæ ereptâ: with an English Translation. Johnson, quarto, pp. 11.
- XV.—1791. Encyclical Letter of the Bishops of Rama, Acanthos, and Centuriæ, to the Faithful, Clergy, and Laity, of their respective Districts, with a continued Commentary for the Use of the Vulgar. Bell, octavo, pp. 28.
- XVI.—1792. An Apology for Slavery; or Six cogent Arguments against the immediate Abolition of the Slave Trade. Johnson, octavo, pp. 47.
- XVII.—1792. The first Book of the Iliad of Homer, verbally rendered into English Verse; being a Specimen of a new Translation of that Poet: with critical Annotations. Debrett, octavo, pp. 37.

- XVIII.—1792. *L'Avocat du Diable; The Devil's Advocate: or Satan versus Pictor.* Tried before the Court of Uncommon Pleas—Die—mens—ann. Johnson, quarto, pp. 19.
- XIX.—1792. *The Holy Bible; or the Books accounted sacred by Jews and Christians; otherwise called the Books of the Old and New Covenants: faithfully translated from corrected Texts of the Originals, with various Readings, explanatory Notes, and critical Remarks.* Vol. I. Faulder, quarto, pp. 430.
- XX.—1793. *Carmina Sæcularia Tria, pro tribus celeberrimis Libertatis Gallicæ Epochis.* No Publisher's Name, quarto, pp. 27.
- XXI.—1793. *Ver-Vert; or the Parrot of Nevers: a Poem in four Cantos, freely translated from the French of J. B. Gresset.* Bell, quarto, pp. 48.
- XXII.—1793. *Dr. Geddes's Address to the Public on the Publication of the first Volume of his New Translation of the Bible.* Johnson, pp. 25.
- XXIII.—1794. *Letter from the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL. D. to the Right Rev. John Douglas, Bishop of Centuriæ, and Vicar Apostolic in the London District.* Faulder, quarto, pp. 55.
- XXIV.—1794. *A Norfolk Tale; or a Journal from London to Norwich: with a Prologue and an Epilogue.* Johnson, quarto, pp. 50.
- XXV.—1795. *Ode to the Hon. Thomas Pelham, occasioned by his Speech in the Irish House of Commons on the Catholic Bill.* Johnson, quarto, pp. 19.
- XXVI.—1796. *A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, by H. W. C.—T. D. D. &c. published by request; and now (for the Sake of Freshmen and the Laity) by Request translated into English Metre.* By H. H. Hopkins, A. M. Kearsley, octavo, pp. 42.

- XXVII.—1797. The Battle of B—ng—r; or the Church's Triumph: a Comic-Heroic Poem, in nine Cantos. Johnson, octavo, pp. 74.
- XXVIII.—1797. The Holy Bible; or the Books accounted sacred by Jews and Christians; otherwise called the Books of the Old and New Covenants: faithfully translated from corrected Texts of the Originals, with various Readings, explanatory Notes, and critical Remarks. Vol. II. Faulder, quarto, pp. 394.
- XXIX.—1798. A New-Year's Gift to the good People of England; being a Sermon, or something like a Sermon, in Defence of the present War, preached on the Day of public Thanksgiving, by Theomophilus Brown, Curate of P———n. No Publisher's Name, octavo, pp. 43.
- XXX.—1799. A Sermon preached on the Day of General Fast, Feb. 27, 1799, by Theomophilus Brown, formerly Curate, now Vicar, of P———n. No Publisher's Name, octavo, pp. 24.
- XXXI.—1800. A Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain, addressed to all moderate Protestants, particularly to the Members of both Houses of Parliament. Faulder, octavo, pp. 271.
- XXXII.—1800. Critical Remarks on the Hebrew Scriptures, corresponding with a New Translation of the Bible, containing the Pentateuch. Vol. I. Faulder, pp. 475.
- XXXIII.—1800. Bardomachia—Poema Macaronico-Latinum. Johnson, quarto, pp. 14.
- XXXIV.—1800. Bardomachia; or the Battle of the Bards: translated from the original Latin. Johnson, quarto, pp. 16.
- XXXV.—1801. Paci feliciter reduci Ode Sapphica. Auctore A. G. Johnson, quarto, pp. 9.

INEDITED.

I.—1799. Epistle to the King. A Poem in English Iambics, still in Manuscript. About 500 lines.—N. B. It is replete with professions of loyalty and attachment to his Majesty, whose personal virtues are much extolled; but its chief object is to point out the necessity of a change of ministry and public measures.

II.—1801. A New Translation of the Psalms, from corrected Texts of the Original, with occasional Annotations. Octavo, pp. 208.—N. B. The Translator died in the midst of this version, which in consequence extends only to the cxviiiith inclusively. It is thus far printed, and will be shortly published.

FUGITIVE PIECES,

Printed on single sheets, or in conjunction with other papers, and here enumerated to preclude his being charged with what were not his own.

I.—1792. A Dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon Dialect; together with three Poems, written in the same Dialect, consisting of,
1. An Epistle to the President, Vice-President, &c. of the Society of Antiquaries, on his being elected a correspondent Member. 2. The first Eclog of Virgil. 3. The first Idillion of Theocritus, translated into Scottis Vers. Published in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Quarto, Caddel.

II.—The Northern Hunt, or Brunswick Beagles.

III.—The Blessings of a free Press.

IV.—Trial by Jury.

V.—1795. Ode Pindarico-Sapphico-Macaronica in Gulielmi Pittii, &c. Laudem. Morn. Chron. Jan. 13.

VI.—1795. Translation of the same. Morn. Chron. Jan. 30.

- VII.—1767. Brother Burke to Brother Windham. January.
VIII.—1798. Abolition of Saints Days. Mon. Chron. Mar. 5.
IX.—1798. Ode to the Right Hon. W. Pitt, by W. Wilberforce, Esq. Courier, June 21; 2d edition in August following.
X.—1798. Epistle to Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart. Morn. Chron. Nov. 11.
XI.—1801. In Obitum honestissimi, integerrimi, meique amicissimi Viri, Domini de Petre. Monthly Mag. Sep.
XII.—1801. Ad Umbram Gilberti Wakefield Elegia. Monthly Mag. Nov.

ing charged with what were not his own papers, and here commenced to peruse his be-
tricted on single sheets, or in conjunction with other

II.—The Northern Hunt or Brunswick Beagle.

III.—The Blessings of a Good Prayer.

IV—Trial by Jury.

V. 1705. Ode Pindarus-Sappho-Marcus in Gallien

Printed, for the Proprietors, by J. W. Smith, at the Press of the American Book Concern, No. 10, N. 2d St., Phila.

VI-1795. Translation of the same. Mon. Chron. Jan. 50.

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MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF THE LATE

REV. ALEXANDER GEDDES, LL. D.

CHAPTER I.

The birth and earlier education of Mr. Geddes—his propensity to biblical studies.—A short account of the chief vernacular versions of the Bible common to Roman catholic countries, and the great want of such a version among the catholics of Great Britain.—Mr. Geddes prosecutes his studies at Scalan in the Highlands—removes to the Scotch college at Paris—acquires the friendship of the professors—returns to Scotland—officiates as priest at Dundee—resides in the family of the earl of Traquaire—returns to Paris—and again to his own country. A. D. 1737—1769.

ALEXANDER GEDDES, who was born in the year 1737, descended, like most other men of letters, from parents who had no pretensions to worldly opulence or honours. But, though not rich, they were, in every sense of the word, respectable; and, though not ennobled, they had a spirit sufficiently exalted to devote the little of which they were

possest to the best purposes of human life. His father, named also Alexander, the second of four brothers, derived his livelihood from a small farm situated in Arradowl, in the parish of Ruthven and county of Banff in Scotland; in which occupation he endured, in common, perhaps, with the greater body of smaller tenants in that part of the united kingdom, many severe oppressions from a tyrannic landlord. The maiden name of his mother was Janet Mitchel; she was a native of Nether Dalachy, in the parish of Bellay, and was equally exemplary as a wife and a parent.

It is curious to observe from what apparently trifling incidents we sometimes derive the whole bent of the dispositions and studies of our future lives. In their religious profession the parents of Mr. Geddes were Roman catholics; their library consisted of but a very few volumes; and, of these, the principal book was an English Bible. Having been taught to read in the humble mansion of a school-mistress whose name was Sellar, a village matron whose goodness of heart, with a recollection that did honour to his feelings, he was accustomed occasionally to make mention of to the latest years of his life, and who, if she were not initiated in all the modern metaphysics of juvenile education, knew at least, according to the testimony of her pupil,

Right well——each temper to descry,
 To thwart the proud, and the submits to raise;
 Some with vile copper prize exalt on high,
 And some entice with pittance small of praise:

the book that chiefly struck his attention, in the meagre catalogue to which his infant choice was confined, was this family Bible; which, whatever might have been at that time his thirst after knowledge, could not afford him more pleasure to peruse, than it did his parents that it should be perused by him. “They taught me,” says he, “to read it with reverence and attention*.” His taste was thus fixed from his childhood. From the moment he began to read he became a biblical critic in embryo: it was a passion to which, the more he reflected, the more he surrendered himself; and which, consequently, as may naturally be expected,

Grew with his growth, and strengthened with his strength.

Endowed with a mind comprehensive as the whole circle of the sciences, and animated with an ardent genius that must have ensured him pre-eminence in whatever field he might have contended, it is a question that will admit of much doubt, whether, if he had been born under any

* General Answer to Queries, Counsils, and Criticisms, &c. p. 2.

other circumstances, and particularly if his father's library had allowed him a greater latitude and variety of study, ecclesiastical history and a critical investigation of the sacred records would have formed his chief pursuit. The die however was thrown : and such was the entertainment the Bible afforded him, and such the corresponding vigour with which he persevered in its perusal, that it is a well known fact, and a fact in several instances publicly adverted to by himself, that before he had reached his eleventh year he knew all its history by heart *. A laudable example of application directed to the best of objects, and which may well challenge the attention of young persons, whether catholic or protestant.

It is, I well know, a common belief in this country, that Roman catholics are not allowed the use of any vernacular edition of the Bible. Such a belief is in the main unfounded, although the Roman catholics themselves, and especially the stricter class of papists, have contributed in no small degree towards its spread. The liturgy of the catholic communion is still uniformly rehearsed in Latin ; and, excepting in the Gallican church, which has always asserted a degree of independency beyond that of any other in connexion with the Roman

* General Answer, p. 2, compared with his Prospectus, p. 1, and his Address to the Public, *passim*.

see, has never been corrected since the pontificate of Urban VIII.; which is nearly two centuries ago. For the continuation of this Latin version, I believe, however, there is nothing but precedent, for I am not aware of the decree of any œcumenical council by which it has been enforced: and why, to adopt the language of Dr. Geddes himself, “it has not already appeared in a vernacular dress, and divested of every odd, exotic ornament, has often appeared to me a problem which admitteth no other solution than *Sic voluere patres!* The day, however, I trust,” continues he, and every man should cordially unite with him in the same hope, “is not at a great distance when every national church will open her eyes to reason, and perform every part of the divine office in the language of her own country, unaccompanied with any ceremony that has the least resemblance of farcical exhibition *.”

In the resolutions of a provincial synod assembled at Thoulouse in 1229, and which seems to have invented the horrid system of a religious inquisition †, we meet with a canon restricting the perusal of the Bible to the *original languages* ‡.

* Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics, p. 170.

† See Capitula, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, &c., apud Labbe xi. 427.

‡ Prohibemus etiam, ne libros Veteris Testamenti aut Novi laici permittantur habere: nisi forte Psalterium vel

But this is a prohibition that has never obtained any degree of credit with the catholic church, which had been long before exhorted by Chyftom, Bafil, Ambrofe, and other illuftrious fathers, to read and *ftudy* the Scriptures daily. Nor can the decree of the council of Trent, as to the authenticity of St. Jerom's verſion, and its ſuperiority to all others in the *Latin* tongue, be introduced as favouring the ſame idea; for the canon relating to it ſhould unqueſtionably be conſidered as limited and referring to Latin verſions alone, reſpecting which it ſhows clearly the taſte and good ſenſe of the ſynod, by the preference it manifested. Vernacular tranſlations have indeed been occaſionally prohibited by the Roman ſee, and eſpecially by Pius VI. and Clement VIII.: but, ſo far from ſuch authority having been acknowledged, or the prohibition attended to, there is no country in Europe in which national verſions have not appeared from a very early period of time, and few in which a variety of them have not preſented a rival appeal before the bar of the public. In Germany ſeveral printed editions were in general circulation before that of Luther, which

Breviarium pro divinis officiis, aut Horas B. Mariæ aliquis ex devotione habere velit: ſed ne præmiſſos libros habeant in vulgari tranſlatos, arctiſſime inhibemus. Concil. Tholoſan. cap. xiv.

was completed in 1535, and is the earliest vernacular Bible among the protestants. In France there were twelve printed editions prior to that of Olivetan: Spain can at least boast of two or three, besides several detached books of the Bible, which are admirably rendered by Luis de Leon of the university of Salamanca; and, even in Italy, Bruccioli translated the Latin of Pagninus as early as 1532, and Marmochini the Vulgate about six years afterwards, dedicating it expressly to the bishop of Rodez; independently of which, the version of Malermi underwent not less than thirteen editions in the space of half a century, anterior even to the æra of the Reformation: and it was an express proposition of the late intelligent and liberal pontiff, that the Scriptures “are sources to which *all* ought to have *free access*, in order to draw from them a sound doctrine and a pure morality *.”

The English catholics have however been less fortunate, or perhaps in this respect more prejudiced, than their continental brethren. For, although the vulgar version has been at their

* Optime sentis si Christi fideles ad lectionem divinarum literarum magnopere excitandos existimes. Illi enim sunt fontes uberrimi, qui cuique patere debent ad hauriendam et morum et doctrinæ sanctitatem. See his Letter to Abbate Martini, 1778, as also Geddes's Prospectus, and Modest Apology.

command, as well as many detached portions of the sacred writings excellently translated by men of eminence of their own persuasion; the former, as a body, they have absolutely refused, and to the latter they have in general paid but little attention. “The greater part of the Roman catholics of Great Britain and Ireland,” observes Dr. Geddes, “may be said to be without a BIBLE. The common national version they would not use, because, forsooth, it was the work of heretics, and also because several books which the council of Trent had decreed to be canonical were either entirely omitted in the editions of the common version, or accounted apocryphal. Precluded thus from the use of the common version, they had no alternative for more than a century but to put up with a barbarous translation made at Rheims and Douay, from an uncorrected copy of the Latin Vulgate, accompanied with virulent annotations against the protestant religion, and manifestly calculated to support a system, not of genuine catholicity, but of transalpine popery. About the middle of the present (the late) century it was, indeed, remodelled on the Clementine edition of the Vulgate, and modernized into somewhat better English by the late Dr. Chaloner, who put it into a more convenient form, and stripped it of almost all its most odious notes. Yet still, in those which he

retained or altered, the spirit of theologic system is but too visible; and as to the translation itself, the changes in it are chiefly made from that same common version which had been so much vilified and burlesqued by our rhimers and divines*." Of this translation Dr. Chaloner's edition was, some years ago, so nearly exhausted that it was difficult to obtain a copy. Since this period, however, a third edition has been printed at Dublin with notes, and is said to have been revised by Dr. Troy.

We trace then easily whence the general opinion has arisen in this country, that Roman Catholics are not permitted the use of a vernacular version of the Bible. They accustom themselves to a Latin version of their liturgy, and reject the established translation of the Scriptures altogether. Such however is not the case with all of them. In spite of religious prejudices, the more enlightened have for a long time preferred the latter to the edition of Rheims and Douay; and of this number were the parents of the late Dr. Geddes, for with them

* Address to the Public, p. 3. The offensive strictures and parodies he chiefly refers to in this passage, are *A Discovery of the manifest Corruptions of Holy Scripture, &c.* by Gregory Martin, printed at Rheims 1582; and *England's Reformation, a Poem in the manner of Hudibras*, by Thomas Ward; as also his *Errata of the Protestant Bibles*.

the family Bible was the vulgar English. Their son might well boast, therefore, as he has done, when alluding to this circumstance in his General Answer, p. 2, that “his parents, although they were Roman catholics, were not bigots.”

Having exhausted all the store of knowledge which the meritorious matron of the village, whose distinction of him, he has often declared, was a source of one of his earliest mental pleasures, could afford, our young pupil was next entrusted to the care of a student of Aberdeen, whose name was Shearer, and whom the laird of the district had engaged to educate his two sons. In the family of this gentleman the instruction of Mr. Geddes was gratuitous. The worthy laird had witnessed the anxiety of his parents to gratify his growing thirst after learning, and, with an example well worthy of imitation by men of opulence in every village throughout the kingdom, he admitted him to a participation of his own family tuition; and, together with himself, two other boys of similar circumstances and age, of whom one was his cousin. Of Shearer I have received no information beyond his present connection with the laird of Arradowl; but, from the future eminence of the two Geddeses, he must have been either peculiarly fortunate, or peculiarly skilful: for, while Alexander was exhibiting

proofs of profound scientific research, and rising into the first ranks of literary distinction, his cousin was progressively advancing through many of the chief dignities of the catholic church, and was at length installed into the titular bishopric of Dunkeld. He was also well known as an able theologian, and his writings are occasionally referred to by Dr. Geddes with much deference and respect*.

From the hospitable mansion of the laird of Arradowl, and by the immediate interference of his patron, our pupil, at the age of fourteen, was removed to Scalan, a free Roman catholic seminary in the Highlands, of obscure fame, and limited to boys who are destined for the church, and whose studies are designed to be completed in some foreign university.

The vale in which this seminary was situated was so deeply excavated and overhung by surrounding hills, as to require almost as perpetual a use of the lamp as the subterranean cell of Demosthenes. Of its sombre and melancholy aspect the reader may form some idea from the following reply of Mr. Geddes to one of his fellow students, who had obtained leave to pay a visit to his friends at a distance, and who asked him if he had any com-

* See particularly his Prospectus, p. 145.

mands he could execute. "Pray be so kind," replied Geddes, "as to make particular inquiries after the health of the SUN: fail not to present my compliments to him, and tell him I still hope I shall one day be able to renew the honour of a personal acquaintance with him."

To a knowledge of the Bible in the vulgar English, he added in this academy a knowledge of it in the vulgar Latin; but it does not appear that he made much further proficiency in classical erudition: for he himself assures us that in the year 1760, long after he had left Scalan, and when he must have acquired the age of twenty-three, the vulgar Latin and the vulgar English were the only two versions of the Bible with which he was acquainted, and that it was not till the year 1762 that he began to read it in its original languages*. Had he been initiated into the Greek tongue in his present situation, there can be no doubt, from his uninterrupted attachment to the Bible history, that one of the first books he would have perused in this language would have been a Greek Testament; but as he did not begin to read either a Greek Testament or a Septuagint till four years after he had quitted the Highlands, we have every reason to suppose that his attention was solely di-

* General Answer, p. 3.

rected in this seminary to a general knowledge of Latin, and principally to the Latin Bible of the vulgar or St. Jerom's edition; a version which affords a noble instance of the powers of the human mind, which was deservedly sanctioned by the council of Trent, and which, in its different impressions, constituted, for eleven hundred years, the general text-book of all the western churches.

As no man has more critically or philologically investigated this subject than Dr. Geddes, and as it appears to have comprised almost the sole topic of his studies in the school in which we have thus far accompanied him, it will by no means be foreign from the purpose of these memoirs to present the reader with his own history of St. Jerom's very valuable undertaking, and the judgment that he himself formed of it in his maturer years. "The first Latin versions of the Bible," says he, "were made from the Greek of the Septuagint, and as the Greek copies greatly varied, the Latin versions varied still more; because they were not only done from different archetypes, but also by many different hands: for every one, says St. Augustine, who had got a tincture of Greek learning, fell to translating for himself; so that, before the end of the fourth century, the translations had become innumerable.

"To remedy this glaring inconvenience, St. Jerom undertook to revise that which was chiefly

used, and known by the name of *Italic*, on the most correct copies of the Greek. Having now occasion to consult the works of Origen, he soon perceived that the Greek itself was in many places corrupted; or, at least, that it differed widely from the Greek versions that had been more recently made from the Hebrew; and this it probably was that gave him the first idea of the necessity of a new translation. For that purpose, he applied eagerly to the study of the Hebrew language, consulted the most learned of the Jewish doctors, compared all the Greek versions with one another and with the original; and, at length, convinced of the insufficiency of the old Latin version, even with all his own corrections and improvements, he seriously set about making a new one, from the best Hebrew copies he could procure. This he accomplished at different intervals, and rather by starts than a continual labour, in the space of fifteen years, amidst many contradictions, reproaches, and the most bitter invectives.

“ For scarcely had his first essays made their appearance, when the cry from every quarter was set up against them, as a daring and dangerous innovation, that tended to discredit a version so long used in the Latin church, and made from one generally believed to have been the work of the Holy Ghost.

“Although Jerom, conscious of the rectitude of his intentions and of the goodness of his cause, despised, at first, the unjust and invidious cavils of his adversaries; yet they were so often repeated, and countenanced by such high characters in the church, that he was fain to yield to the necessity of the times, and to make apology after apology for his conduct. Still, however, he continued to translate, without following any other order than what the requests of his particular friends occasionally suggested to him. The four books of Kings were first published in the year 391; soon after followed the Prophets; then the books of Solomon, Job, the Psalms, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles; and, last of all, the Octateuch, about the year 405. By this time the storm that had been raised against him was nearly blown over, and he lived to see his labours applauded by some of those who had been the first to condemn them. In less than a century after his death his version had become of equal authority with its now only rival, the Italic; and gradually grew in estimation, till, at length, it was, with some limitations, universally adopted by the Latin churches.

“In many respects it deserved that preference. It had been made immediately from the original, by one who had every necessary qualification for such an undertaking. His learning, whether sacred or

profane, was not less extensive than Origen's; his judgment and taste were more correct and exquisite. He had a perfect knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages; and was sufficiently versed in the Hebrew. He had correct copies of the Hexapla*, if not the autograph itself, before him. He was at no great distance from a famous school of Jewish rabbins, whom he might consult as he saw occasion. He had traversed the land with his own feet, and seen with his own eyes the principal places mentioned in sacred history. He was acquainted with the manners and customs of the country. He knew its plants, its animals, and its other productions. With all these advantages, and his superior talents, it was impossible he should not succeed. He adopted, in general, that mode of translating, which had been before so much admired in Symmachus; and which,

* This is one of the most complete polyglotts of Origen, but not altogether so. Dissatisfied with every biblical version of his day, he began to correct obscure and questionable passages by a collation of different copies in different languages. His first publication appeared about the year 231, and consisted of the four Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion; whence it was called his Tetrapla. To these he successively added, however, different codices from the original Hebrew, which, as they increased in number, were progressively denominated Hexapla, Octapla, and Enneapla.

indeed, is the best calculated to express the full meaning of the original, without either hurting its integrity, or transferring its idiotisms. His style is plain, easy and unaffected; and, although his latinity is not that of the Augustan age, it is neither barbarous nor inelegant. In his diction and phraseology there is a peculiar grace and noble simplicity, which it is not easy to imitate; and which no other Latin version, except that of Houbigant, in any degree possesses*.”

He admits, however, that this work of St. Jerom is not altogether perfect; that, in few words, without entering into a minute catalogue of its infirmities, it partakes, when subjected to the microscope of critical investigation, of the common defects of human nature; but that, nevertheless, it manifests a considerable superiority to the English translation. He asserts that, from the moment he began to study it with accuracy, the latter appeared to him rugged, constrained, and often obscure, where the former was smooth, easy, and intelligible: that the one seemed to read like a translation, the other like an original. His first prejudices, however, were so strong in favour of the vulgar English, that it was with no small difficulty he was able to surmount them: but having once triumphed over these prejudices, he was pre-

* Prospectus of a new Translation of the Bible, p. 44.

pared to acquire a more easy victory over others which were at least as inveterate, and which the exercise of his judgment told him were diametrically contrary to truth and reason. But of these as we proceed.

Having attained the age of twenty-one, he was removed from Scalan, in October 1758, to the Scotch college at Paris; where, however, he did not arrive till the ensuing December, in consequence of a very dangerous passage from Aberdeen to Camphire; in the course of which he narrowly escaped shipwreck, and suffered so severely from the roughness of his voyage, that it was judged necessary for him to recruit his strength by some degree of relaxation and quietude, before he prosecuted his journey any further. On his arrival at Paris, a field of literature was presented to him to which he had hitherto been a stranger. He determined to avail himself of every possible advantage with every power of his mind; and the progress he soon attained was a source of equal pleasure and astonishment to the professors under whom he studied. Of the Scotch college into which he officially entered, Mr. Gordon was at that time principal; and to him he was recommended by introductory letters, as well as by his own comprehensive talents and ingenuousness of heart: a double foundation of esteem, and which, as may

easily be imagined, did not fail of success. He had heard much of the college of Navarre, and of the lectures delivered in this celebrated seminary; and with an inextinguishable thirst after knowledge, he commenced his attendance upon several of the latter a few days after he reached Paris. He opened his course with rhetoric, of which science M. Vicaire was at that time professor; and notwithstanding the general emulation he excited, and the prior existence in the class of two veteran pupils, his unwearied assiduity soon placed him at its head; and, which was at least equally honourable, and far more advantageous to him, secured him the friendship of the professor, which continued without interruption till M. Vicaire's decease.

According to the routine of study in the university to which he was now transferred, he should in the ensuing year, 1759, have entered upon a course of natural and experimental philosophy; but his predilection for divinity still prevailed, and he was easily persuaded by several friends, who justly estimated his talents as a theologian, to relinquish the common order, and apply to divinity in the first instance. To this branch of science he now therefore began to direct almost the whole of his public studies; and to the theological lectures of MM. Buré and de Saurent, at

the college of Navarre, he added a scrupulous attention to those on the study of Hebrew delivered at the Sorbonne by M. l'Avocat, professor of the Orleans chair; an institution so denominated from its having been founded in 1751, for the purpose of reviving oriental learning in the university of Paris, and of explaining the Hebrew Scriptures, by the duke of Orleans, son of the celebrated regent, and who was one of the most pious and learned princes of his age. Here he was at least as fortunate as in the college of Navarre; for no professor was ever perhaps better qualified for fulfilling this double object than M. l'Avocat. "He had a penetrating genius, an astonishing memory, a correct judgment, and an exquisite taste. He was the most universal scholar, the most pleasant teacher, the most benevolent man, and the most moderate theologian I ever knew. Had he lived a little longer, and enjoyed more leisure to accomplish the work he meditated on the Scripture, we should now possess a treasure of great value; but a weakly constitution and too constant an application to his professional duties hurried him away in his 56th year, to the great regret of all who knew him; but of none," says his grateful and affectionate pupil, who thus describes him, "more than of him who dedicates these lines to his memory." M. l'Avocat left nothing be-

hind him, however, but a few theses, and some valuable but unprinted critical essays. We cannot wonder at the regret of Mr. Geddes upon the death of the professor, which occurred about the year 1780, since the latter conceived for him, at an early period after his introduction into the university, a very high esteem and affection, and even strenuously pressed him at length to a settlement at Paris. This, however, was altogether inconsistent with the plan he had conceived at an early age of life, of forming a new English version of the Bible for the use of his fellow countrymen of the catholic church, and which plan was in his own mind daily advancing towards maturity. He had at this time an opportunity, and he improved it to its utmost extent, of adding to his knowledge of the Latin Vulgate a close acquaintance with the originals, with which he, moreover, perpetually compared the established version of England. He was soon therefore able to speak with more critical accuracy upon the comparative merits of the Latin of St. Jerom, and the English of king James's translators; "I had both versions," says he, "constantly before me, and I now discovered the cause of the great difference between them. The study of the English translators, I found, had been to give a strictly literal version at the expense of almost every other

consideration; while the author of the Vulgate had endeavoured to render his originals equivalently, into such Latin as was current in his age. If ever I translate the Bible," said I then, "it must be after this manner *."

School divinity and biblical criticism by no means, however, occupied the whole of his attention. He entered deeply into an analysis of the Greek and Latin languages, pursued with insatiable avidity those exquisite mines of precision and judgment, of taste and fancy, which are nowhere else to be met with in an equal degree, and laid the foundation for that elegance and facility, that fecundity and correctness of style, with which he afterwards engaged in Latin and Greek compositions, and which have not often been exceeded by any of his countrymen since the age of George Buchanan. To these important acquisitions he also added a study of several of the modern languages of Europe. The French was indeed become almost vernacular to him, and required no further study whatever: his first serious engagement was therefore in the Italian; and having shortly mastered the few difficulties which were here presented to him, he carried his pursuits successively to the Spanish, the German, and the Low

* General Answer to the Queries, Counsils, and Criticisms, &c. p. 3.

Dutch. To the mathematics he never discovered much attachment: at which I have often been considerably surpris'd; for no man was ever a shrewder logician, or followed with keener penetration, in a controversy, the bearings of an adversary's argument through all the lights and shades, not merely of every syllogistic proposition, but of almost every phrase and every individual word*. The mathematics, however, which have seldom been in any high degree of favour with our neighbours of France as a branch of general education, did not, I believe, constitute any prominent part of the course of instruction delivered at the Scotch Parisian university, and hence perhaps his distaste for a science for which he was so well qualified by nature. To many of the branches of natural and experimental philosophy he paid, nevertheless, a considerable portion of attention; devoting to them almost the whole of his intervals at home, and pursuing them rather as a relaxation from the severer duties of stated instruction, than as comprehending a necessary part of such instruction itself.

Having, although with some reluctance, refused the friendly proposal of professor l'Avocat to settle

* In this respect he displayed no small resemblance to bishop Berkeley, who like himself was an admirable logician, but had the utmost aversion for mathematics, and regarded the doctrine of fluxions as puerile and uncertain.

at Paris, and take a share in the public labours of the college, he returned to Scotland in 1764, after an absence of six years; and, shortly posterior to his arrival at Edinburgh, was ordered to Dundee to officiate as priest among the catholics in the county of Angus. Here he was scarcely settled when he received an offer, far more agreeable to himself, as it allowed a larger portion of time for study, of being a resident in the family of the earl of Traquair*, whose paternal domain was situated in the delightful scenery of Tweeddale. This offer he readily accepted, and in May 1765 became an inmate in his lordship's family. He was now at full liberty to prosecute the whole scope of his literary inclinations; and the esteem and friendship with which the noble earl began to honour him, and which from this period never ceased between them, still further facilitated the uniform object of his heart. Of his situation and pursuits at the present moment he gives the following account: "On leaving the

* In what capacity, otherwise than that of a friend, he at this time lived with his lordship, I have not been able to learn. It is generally said that he officiated as domestic chaplain; but I have the authority of lord Buchan for denying this report, who has obligingly informed me, through the medium of miss Hamilton, that the Abbé Grant and Mr. Cruikshank successively filled this office at the time of which I am now speaking.

university I was fortunately placed in a nobleman's family, where I had plenty of time and a tolerable library to enable me to continue my favourite study. The ancient versions in the Polyglott were now alternately read, and occasionally compared; and from this lecture and comparison I was every day more and more satisfied, that a verbal version of the Bible is not the most proper to convey its meaning and display its beauties. I observed, that even those translators who had the text to render, not into a different language, but only into different dialects of the same language, had not attempted a strictly literal version; and that those of them who were the least literal had the most forcibly and intelligibly rendered their text.

“But when from the ancient I turned to the modern versions, my opinion was soon strengthened into conviction. There were seven modern versions to which I had then access; the French of Geneva, the Italian of Bruccioli, the Dutch national; and in Latin, those of Munster, Castalio, Junius, and Pagninus. Of these seven, the one which I opened with prejudice was the one which I read through with the greatest pleasure.

“I had been taught to consider Castalio's translation as a prophane burlesque of Holy Writ. What was my surprise to find that he had seized

the very spirit of the original, and transfused it into elegant Latin! I saw indeed, and was sorry to see, that, through his excessive refinement, a part of the simplicity of his original had evaporated in the operation, and in this respect his version is inferior to the Vulgate: but still the *spirit* of the original is there; whereas that of his contrast Pagninus appears like an almost breathless body, dragging along its limbs in the most awkward and clumsy manner. Yet this same Pagninus has been the general model of vernacular versions*.”

Such were the additional stores with which our indefatigable scholar was now enriching his mind, and such his progress towards that critical acumen which it afterwards so pre-eminently displayed. Of the two opposite versions referred to, and contrasted in the last paragraph of this citation, that of Santes Pagninus was first printed at Florence in 1528: it occupied him not less than twenty-five years in its completion; and, notwithstanding the bald and barbarous latinity it uniformly exhibits, has been generally extolled, both by Jews and Christians, above the Vulgate of St. Jerom. Its chief merit is that of a literal adherence to the idioms and even the verbiage of the original: as a composition it is therefore not only perpetually

* General Answer, &c. p. 3.

uncouth, but very frequently unintelligible; yet it may still answer the purpose of a tolerable grammatical glossary. The best edition of Castalio was printed at Basil in folio, in the year 1753, and, as already observed, is in every respect the very reverse of that of Pagninus. Castalio is generally supposed to possess more courage than prudence. With a noble independence of mind, he resolved to be no longer the slave of the rabbins; he relinquished the *Massora*, and was determined to think for himself. The present Hebrew text was indeed his perpetual guide; but he never neglected to compare it with the ancient versions, and, where doubtful or obviously erroneous, to avail himself of their assistance in explaining or correcting it. To the common books of the Bible he also adjoined those of the Apocrypha, as an essential part of the Sacred History, which, though afterwards suppressed by St. Jerom, are uniformly met with in the most ancient copies of the Greek, Syriac and Latin versions, where they are admitted to an equal rank with the rest; while, in order the more thoroughly to connect the Old Testament with the New, "he inserted," says Dr. Geddes in another place, "two excellent supplements abridged from Josephus; the one after the fourth book of Esdras, and the other at the end of the Maccabees." It is this deviation from

the more generally received versions, which has brought upon him so frequently the censures of both Jews and Christians, catholics and protestants. By many of the best biblical critics of our own and several other nations, however, and particularly Simler, Huetius, Buxtorf, Duport, Episcopius and Mead, he has been fully vindicated against every unjust aspersions, and his translation maintained to be in the highest degree both faithful and elegant *.

Vicissitude is the lot of man in every situation ; and obscurity of rank and deep retirement from the world, which generally afford an impenetrable shield against the attacks of misfortune, forego at times their accustomed office, and cruelly assist its triumph. Such, unhappily, was the fate of the subject of these memoirs. The very circumstances which seemed to assure to him a long continuance of happiness, constituted the very rock upon which his peace of mind was first wrecked, and cast him for years, like Ulysses in pursuit of Ithaca, upon the tempestuous ocean of an unfriendly world, with little assistance, save that of the protecting providence of Heaven, to defend his feeble skiff

* Quam, habita multis in locis collatione, non modo latinissimam, sed etiam accuratissimam, et ad sensum mentemque dictorum, tam Hebraeis quam in Græcis, maxime accommodatam deprehendi. Mead. Præf. in Med. Sacra. See also Geddes's Prospectus.

against the perils to which he was incessantly exposed:

Ἄνδρα πολυτρόπον, ὃς μαλα πολλὰ

Πλαγχθῆ

Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἰδὲν ἀστεα, καὶ νοσὸν ἐγνώ.

Πολλὰ δ' οὐ γ' ἐν ποντῷ πάθεν ἀλγέα οὐ κατὰ θυμόν*.

He had at this time reached his twenty-eighth year, and had resided in the hospitable mansion of lord Traquaire for considerably more than a twelve-month. From every branch of this worthy as well as illustrious family he had received the most unequivocal proofs of friendship and esteem, and never was there a heart created upon which such generous qualities were more calculated to operate. Unfortunately for his personal quiet they had in one instance taken a different direction from what he himself had intended, and certainly from what was ever expected in the quarter from which they had proceeded. Why should I conceal that which was productive of honour to all parties? A female relation of the noble earl was at this time a co-resident in the house, and constituted a part of the family. The merit of Mr. Geddes was prominent; her own charms and the regard she

* A man deep-versed in wisdom's various lore,
In many a trouble tried o'er many a shore,
Long by the world's wild tempest tost amain
Ere yet he gained the port he strove to gain.

openly professed for him were not less so : too soon he felt himself the prey of an impression which he well knew it was not possible for him to indulge, and Buxtorff was in danger of being supplanted by Ovid. He turned philosopher : but it was in vain ; self-expostulation was useless ; and the well-meditated resolutions of a day were often put to flight in a moment. But one step remained to be taken : he embraced it ; and, with more hardihood than is often necessary to obtain a victory, founded a retreat. He had made, perhaps too hastily, his vow of religious celibacy, and its sanctity was not to be trifled with. Of two evils he had still the consolation to think that he had chosen the least ; and with much reluctance of heart, but an approving and sustaining conscience, he abruptly broke away from the delightful shades and the more delightful conversations of Tweeddale, in less than two years after his arrival there ; and leaving behind him a beautiful but confidential little poem, and as such not to be communicated in the present narrative, entitled *The Confessional*, addressed to the fair yet innocent author of his misfortunes, he once more took leave of his native country, and tried to forget himself amidst the greater varieties and volatilities of Paris*.

* If I had not received explicit information upon this subject, I should have regarded it with at least some degree of

In this alternating region of wit and folly, of dissipation and letters, he continued for about eight or nine months, beloved with an equal degree of warmth by his former friends, but incapable for some time of making any serious improvement in literature or criticism of any kind. Paris however, which had never pleased him much, now pleased him far less than before; and having gradually obtained the self-possession he had been in pursuit of, an effect produced rather perhaps by time and distance, than by the operation of any other cause, he directed his course homeward, and once more arrived in North Britain in the spring of 1769; after having, notwithstanding his general listlessness for study, made a variety of very valuable extracts on biblical criticism from the public libraries of the city.

scepticism; for the earl of Buchan, who was at this time intimately acquainted both with lord Traquair and Dr. Geddes, and who reveres the memory of the latter with as fond an affection as any friend who has survived him, does not remember the existence of any such penchant. I am informed, however, that it was at this time locked up in the bosom of Mr. Geddes himself, and was only communicated to the fair object of it on the moment of his quitting her.

CHAPTER II.

Mr. Geddes accepts the charge of a catholic congregation at Auchinhalrig—builds a new chapel and parsonage-house—his domestic employments and popularity among his flock—his connections with many protestants of rank and literature—his pecuniary embarrassments, and the assistance afforded him by the late duke of Norfolk—takes a small farm—erects a new chapel at Fouchabers—is again involved in difficulties—commences poet, and publishes a translation of select satires from Horace—is engaged to instruct lady Findlater in the English language—becomes acquainted with Mr. Buchanan, and occasionally attends upon his ministry—is reproved by bishop Hay, and at length deposed from his pastoral office. He quits Auchinhalrig, to the great regret of his congregation—is created doctor of laws by the university of Aberdeen. A. D. 1769—1779.

IN returning a second time to his native country, Mr. Geddes dared not entrust himself to the fascinating spot, or re-engage in the domestic situation from which, in the preceding year, he had found it so necessary to fly. He accepted therefore of the charge of a catholic congregation at Auchinhalrig in the county of Banff, not far distant from the place of his nativity. This congregation, though numerous, laboured under a variety of disadvan-

tages, and at the time in which the subject of this biography was elected to the pastoral office, was equally diminishing in zeal and number. The members of whom it consisted were for the most part poor, their chapel was in a state of irreparable dilapidation, the condition of the parsonage house was but little better, and the most unchristian rancour had long subsisted between themselves and their more wealthy as well as more numerous brethren of the protestant community.

Never was there a man better qualified for correcting the whole of these evils than Alexander Geddes, and never did man apply himself with more ardour to their removal. Activity and liberality were indeed the characteristic principles of his soul: much worldly prudence he never possessed; but his heart overflowed with the milk of human kindness, and his nerves, when in their utmost state of diseased irritability, still vibrated with benevolence. He proposed that the old chapel should be pulled down; he projected a new one; he rebuilt it on the spot which the former had occupied. He repaired the dilapidations of the parsonage-house; he ornamented it with fresh improvements, and rendered it one of the pleasantest and most convenient in his country. He not only, indeed, superintended these buildings, but laboured at them himself, being as ready a carpenter, and as expert in the use of the saw and the plane, as if he had been professedly

brought up to the trade. Gardening and carpentering were in reality at all times favourite amusements with him ; they constituted his chief relaxations from the severity of study to the last moment of his life ; and I have frequently rallied him, when at work, upon the multiplicity of his tools, which, in the article of planes of different mouldings, were more numerous than those of many professed artists, and on the dexterity with which he handled them.

To his humble but neat and hospitable cottage, it is to be expected therefore that he added the luxury of a good garden. Mr. Geddes had drawn his knowledge of botany rather from practice than theory, which nevertheless he had not altogether neglected. Satisfied with the indigenous bounties as well as beauties of nature, he did not largely seek for exotic ornaments ; nor would the paucity of his means have admitted of any considerable indulgence in this respect, had he even possessed the inclination. But his flower-, his fruit-, and his kitchen-garden, though little boastful of foreign productions, were each of them perfect in its kind, and the admiration of his flock, who were generously supplied, according to their respective wants, from the abundance it afforded:

. . . dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.

VIRG. Georg. iv. 133.

He piled their tables with unpurchased stores.

Never indeed was there a man more liberal in diffusing to others the little of which he was possessed than himself; never was a priest better beloved by the members of his congregation. I did not know him myself till many years afterwards; but I have been credibly informed by a variety of persons who did know him at the time we are now speaking of, and were intimately acquainted with his situation, that he seemed to live in the hearts of every one of his hearers, that his kindness and affability excited their affection, his punctilious attention to the duties of his office their veneration, and his extensive reputation for learning their implicit confidence in his opinions.

I have said that at the time of his fixing at Auchinhalrig he found a high degree of rancour and illiberality subsisting, and mutually fomented, between his own congregation and the surrounding community of protestants. To correct this evil, than which a greater cannot exist, nor one more hostile to the spirit of the sacred pages to which both parties reciprocally appeal, he laboured with all his might. By an extensive study and a deep knowledge of ecclesiastical history, he had freed himself completely from the bigotry which still attaches in no inconsiderable

degree to the more ignorant of his own persuasion. He knew as well, and was ready to admit as largely, as any protestant whatever, the alternate systems of force and fraud by which the see of Rome has endeavoured to obtain an unjust temporal supremacy over the great body of the catholic church itself, to enslave the consciences of the laity to its own views of speculation and power, and to exercise in a variety of highly important concerns an authority which had never been officially conceded to it, and concerning which the reader will meet with a more detailed account when we advance to an analysis of the controversial writings into which he was shortly afterwards compelled. Free and independent in his own mind, he took the sacred Scriptures alone as his standard of faith, and exhorted every member of his congregation to do the same, to study for himself, to interpret for himself, and to submit to no foreign control, excepting in matters fairly decided by the catholic church at large assembled in general councils. He could ridicule the infallibility of the pope, and laugh at images and relics, at rosaries, scapulars, agnus Deis, blessed medals, indulgences, obits and dirges, as much as the most inveterate protestant in his neighbourhood, and could as abundantly abhor the old-

fashioned and iniquitous doctrine, that faith ought not to be held with heretics. Claiming the fullest liberty of conscience for himself, he was ever ready to extend it in an equal degree to others, and could therefore with the utmost cordiality embrace the protestant as well as the catholic. Honesty of heart was the only passport necessary to ensure his esteem, and where this was conspicuous he never hesitated to offer the right hand of fellowship.

By such a conduct he could not fail of softening that rigid disinclination to associate, which operated as a wall of partition between the protestants and catholics of Scotland; while it enabled him to establish many of his closest literary connexions, as well as most intimate alliances, amongst several of the most distinguished characters of the former persuasion. Of these may be enumerated the duke and duchess of Gordon, who spent a great part of every summer at Gordon castle in his immediate vicinity, and who became closely attached to him, and contributed very largely to the happiness of his situation; the venerable earl of Buchan, count Murray of Melgum, lord Findlater, principal Robertson, Drs. Reid and Findlay of Edinburgh, Dr. Beattie of Aberdeen, and indeed almost all the professors of this cele-

brated university ; and particularly the reverend Mr. Crawford, a very worthy presbyterian clergyman of an adjoining parish, and a brother or cousin of that justly celebrated philosopher and physician the late Dr. Crawford of Lincoln's Inn-Fields, who has contributed so largely to a knowledge of the animal œconomy by his valuable treatise on animal heat.

But though he had the pleasure of dispersing many of the prejudices, and of melting into christian charity many of the hearts of his own congregation, he was so far from influencing the great body of surrounding papists, and especially those of the priesthood, to imbibe his opinions, and deviate with an equal degree of boldness from the vulgar creed, that a violent hue and cry was raised against him for his liberality ; an epistolary, and, I believe, a printed correspondence was entered into between bishop Hay, his diocesan, and himself ; from which, however, as it was never published, I am not at liberty to make any quotation ; and he was menaced with the pains of suspension from his ecclesiastical duties, unless he became more circumspect as to his conduct and conversation, and especially as to his occasional attendance upon the ministrations of his friend Mr. Crawford. Little did such bigots know

the spirit of the man they were opposing, and how impossible it would have been for all the tortures of a Portuguese inquisition to have made him retract his opinions, or deviate in any respect from a conduct sanctioned alike by his religion and his reason. He despised the menaces of the haughty prelate, and they were not at this time carried into execution.

Still, however, he was not happy; his heart was afflicted by the injurious treatment he thus met with, and he grieved for the illiberality of his clerical brethren. But this was not his sole, nor even his chief cause of anxiety of mind. The scanty income to which he was limited, destroyed every hope he had for years indulged of offering to the public a new and more correct translation of the Bible: he was still without a patron and without a library, which were equally indispensable for the undertaking: and, mortifying as it must have been to him, he appears in consequence hereof to have relinquished every prospect of accomplishing it, and to have banished the very idea from his mind. There was also another evil he was doomed to sustain, and which proceeded in like manner from the narrowness of his finances. In projecting the rebuilding of his chapel, and the improvements of his own house, he relied with too sanguine a con-

fidence upon the pecuniary assistance of persons of his own persuasion. He was disappointed in his expectations; and having become personally responsible for the different debts contracted, he found himself in no small degree embarrassed and distressed. To assume the character of a public beggar, did not accord with the independence of his soul; but without some considerable contribution it was impossible to resist the demands that were perpetually urged against him. Here, however, he became more fortunate, and in a way that could not fail of gratifying him to the utmost. The late duke of Norfolk, who occasionally visited and resided upon a large family-estate in Cumberland, and who was himself a catholic, had heard of the zeal, liberality and learning of the priest of Auchinhalrig, and expressed a wish for his acquaintance. An interview shortly ensued, through the medium of lord Traquair; and upon the first intimation of the difficulties in which he was involved, his grace took the deficit upon himself, and extricated our unfortunate speculator from the troubles that beset him.

Being now completely relieved from every pecuniary distress, he was resolved to guard against a similar evil by getting before hand with the world; and for this purpose, to the spiritual charge

of his church he added the temporal care of a small farm at Enzie in Fouchabers, in the immediate vicinity of Auchinhalrig; and having been accommodated with a sufficient loan of money to stock it, he set to work with his usual ardour and confidence, and expected in a few years, as his personal wants were inconsiderable and easily satisfied, to realize what would to him be an independent fortune. And so far had the golden dream of success taken possession of his mind, that, in the desire of making the benefits of his religion commensurate with his worldly prosperity, he actually planned, and with but little foreign assistance erected, a second chapel at Fouchabers, on the very borders of his farm-house; which, though small in its dimensions, was equally neat and commodious, and where he proposed to officiate as well as at Auchinhalrig.

Men of letters are but seldom men of figures, and the possessor of genius is perhaps never more out of his element than when he plunges into the calculations of the counting-house. Mr. Geddes's treasures were not of the counting-house description, and he was never destined to be rich. Money he could borrow, and his farm he could stock: but he could not command the seasons; nor could he, which is an affair of much greater facility, command that

time and attention which are indispensably necessary in the commencement of every new undertaking, and especially of an undertaking in which the projector has but little personal skill. He had been long in the habit of devoting the greater part of his time and talents to concerns of a very different description; and whatever might be the prospect of gain with which he fondly flattered himself, he could not break off a habit he had so long indulged and so pertinaciously adhered to. It was in or about the year 1775 that he ventured to commence agriculturist; and in the year 1778, from a perpetual succession of unpropitious harvests, he found himself not only incapacitated from paying the arrears still due upon the chapel at Fouchabers, but from an accumulation of undischarged interest upon the money borrowed to complete his farming stock, in a state of embarrassment nearly equal to that from which his grace of Norfolk had relieved him but a few years before.

His native good humour and amenity of disposition still however adhered to him. His daily motto seems to have been that of the French poet,

Si fortune me tormente,

L'esperance me contente;

and being completely foiled in the labours of his hands, he was determined to try whether those of

his head might not be more productive. It cannot be supposed, that although a recluse, and closely shut up in a nook of the island but little known to fame, Alexander Geddes should be as ignorant of what was transpiring in the world as Alexander Selkirk in the island of Juan Fernandes. He had been an attentive and even a critical observer of men and manners ; and viewing them from a distance, and free from the infectious fever of the multitude, he was perhaps more competent to draw a correct sketch of them than if he had been in the centre of the scene, and partaken of the general tumult :

'Tis pleasant through the loop-holes of retreat
To peep at such a world ; to see the stir
Of the great Babel, and not feel the crowd ;
To hear the roar she sends through all her gates
At a safe distance, where the dying sound
Falls a soft murmur on th' uninjured ear.

Mr. Geddes had for a long time not only thus noticed the transactions of his contemporaries, but had frequently endeavoured to describe them ; and, taking Pope for his example, to describe them by an adaptation of the satires of Horace to his own time. We have now therefore to trace him in a new character, that of a poet ; a character which he had occasionally indeed assumed before, though he has left us few specimens of his earlier productions.

The publication I now refer to, the first in order of time of all his writings which have fallen into my hands, was printed in the ensuing year 1779, and entitled “Select Satires of Horace translated into English Verse, and for the most part adapted to the present Times and Manners.” To this title he subfixed his name; a conduct he did not always pursue, and which in many instances discovered his prudence. These satires are nine in number, and comprise the first four and the eighth of book I. and the second, fourth, fifth and seventh of book II. of the original. They were not written, at least not all of them, upon the spur of the moment, but had occasionally occupied his previous leisure, and been gradually accumulating to the date of their publication. “Early in life,” says he, in a short preface by which they were ushered into the world, “some dæmon whispered me that I had a turn for poetry. I readily, perhaps too readily, believed him. I wrote, was pleased with my productions, and now begin to publish them in hopes of pleasing others. In translating I have followed a medium between a close literal version and a loose paraphrase. I have not willingly omitted any of Horace’s thoughts, but I have clothed them as well as I could in a modern dress. I wished it to be the Roman soul trans-

fused into a British body. I have preferred the Hudibrastic measure for two reasons: first, because, from the quick returns of rhyme, it is less apt to be clogged in its march by expletives and unmeaning epithets; and secondly, because I always thought it much fitter to express the *sermo pedestris*, the plain and pompless manner of Horace, than our more solemn verses of ten syllables."

Our author, however, was not the first who thought in this manner, although he alludes to no archetype: for Swift had preceded him in the same mode of versification; and Pope, as is well known, had in many instances purposely imitated Swift. The decision itself may perhaps admit of a doubt, since the perfection exhibited in either stanza is probably rather the result of a predilection for such stanza, and hence of increased facility of composition, than of any necessary advantage which the one maintains over the other. In Swift, who preferred the shorter verse, we have, I admit, an equal portion of concentration and ease; but we have not less of either in Churchill or Cowper, the latter of whom was uniformly, and the former occasionally, addicted to the longer line. Thus again in Pope, who like Churchill has indulged with similar readiness in each, it is almost impossible to exercise a choice; and perhaps the celebrated

canon which is applied by Pope himself, and, in the opinion of many, objectionably, to the subject of political governments, may here be advanced with far more pertinence and general consent,

Whatever's best administered is best.

Mr. Geddes, I fully believe, made the best choice for himself, and in this choice he certainly has not been unsuccessful. His versification possesses all the ease we could desire, and in this respect has frequently the advantage of his predecessors; but in his wish to appear easy he is often careless and incondite, occasionally indeed vulgar; and in his endeavour to avoid "being clogged with expletives," he too frequently suppresses the article itself: an elision, I well know, from repeated conversations with him upon the subject, of which he much disapproved in the latter years of his life. For the most part he has, nevertheless, very thoroughly transfused, to adopt his own phraseology, "the Roman's soul into a British body;" and Horace, were he conscious of the transmigration, could have no reason to repent of his new tenement. From the list of satires I have given, it is obvious that he was generally careful to avoid direct competition with Mr. Pope; though he has imitated him in addressing the generality of them

to some particular friend, some literary or exalted character ; and in one instance, to wit, the second of book II., he has ventured to become a rival. From the latter part of this satire I shall select an example of the whole ; and that the reader may be the better enabled to appreciate the value of his poetic talents in this line, I shall contrast it with the same passage as translated by Mr. Pope, and add the original Latin at the foot of the page. Of his friend Mr. Crawford I have already spoken ; the allusion is truly happy ; and, in correspondence with the Roman bard, has an advantage over his antagonist. Indeed Geddes is at all times a closer copyist than Pope, and as a translator may therefore be much more fully depended upon by the English reader. The termination is very correct ; though in the six or eight last lines of Mr. Pope's version, there is an energy and spirit which are perhaps equally superior to Flaccus and Geddes, and afford a deviation of which no one can repent.

GEDDES.

Thus Crawford preached : nor was there aught
 But what he practised, as he taught ;
 I've known him in his better days,
 When fortune shed her kindly rays,
 Using the self-same moderation
 As in his present humbler station.

See ! where he sits, in sober state,
 At yonder little cottage gate ;
 And, mid his playful children, smokes
 His pipe, and cracks his honest jokes.
 " 'Tis known (he says, and smiles) that I
 Was never given to luxury :
 On common days, my common cheer
 Was beans and bacon, bread and beer ;
 But when a long-expected friend
 Came weary off his journey's end,
 Or business, bargain, or bad weather
 Brought neighbours, two or three, together ;
 I did not send, express, to town
 To fetch your dainty fishes down ;
 But kid, or capon, if I had it,
 Were to the usual quantum added.
 With fruits the table next was fraught,
 Such as the soil and season brought ;

HORACE, Sat. ii. 2.

Quo magis his credas : puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum
 Integris opibus novi non latius usum,
 Quam nunc accisis. Videas metato in agello
 Cum pecore et natis fortem mercede colonum,
 " Non ego, narrantem, temere edi luce profestâ
 Quidquam præter olus fumosæ cum pede pernæ.
 Ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes,

POPE:

Thus Bethel spoke, who always speaks his thought,
 And always thinks the very thing he ought :
 His equal mind I copy what I can,
 And, as I love, would imitate the man.
 In South-Sea days not happier, when surmised
 The lord of thousands, than if now *excised* ;
 In forest planted by a father's hand,
 Than in five acres now of rented land.
 Content with little, I can piddle here
 On broccoli and mutton round the year ;
 But ancient friends (though poor or out of play)
 That touch my bell, I cannot turn away.
 'Tis true, no turbots dignify my boards,
 But gudgeons, flounders, what my Thames affords.
 To Hounslow-heath I point, and Pansted-down ;
 Thence comes your mutton, and these chicks my own :
 From yon old walnut-tree a shower shall fall,
 And grapes, long lingering on my only wall ;
 And figs from standard and espalier join,—
 The devil is in you if you cannot dine.

HORACE.

Sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem
 Vicinus ; bene erat, non piscibus urbe petitis,
 Sed pullo atque hædo: tum pensilis uva secundas,
 Et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice ficu.
 Post hoc ludus erat coppâ potare magistrâ :
 Ac venerata Ceres, ut culmo surgeret alto,
 Explicuit vino contractæ seria frontis.
 Sæviat, atque novos moveat fortuna tumultus ;
 Quantum hinc imminuet ? quanto aut ego parcius, aut vos,

GEDDES.

Then thanks and praise were duly given
 To all-providing, bounteous Heaven;
 A cheerful bumper crowned the day,
 And drove our killing cares away.

Let Fortune new encroachments make;
 How little from me can she take!
 Have you, my children, felt her hand
 More heavy since we lost our land?
 What though these fields I once could claim
 At present bear another's name?
 By nature, neither he nor I
 Has any lasting property.
 Lord Umbra drove me from my place;
 Him, too, another soon shall chase;
 Himself shall be his own undoing,
 Or dubious law-suits work his ruin:
 At best, and spite of all his care,
 He must resign it to his heir.

Therefore be brave in every state,
 And laugh at Fortune and at Fate.

HORACE.

O pueri, nituistis, ut huc novus incola venit?
 Nam propriæ telluris herum natura, neque illum,
 Nec me, nec quemquam statuit. Nos expulit ille;
 Illum aut nequities, aut vafri inscitia juris,
 Postremo expellet certe vivacior hæres.
 Nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
 Dictus, erit nulli proprius: sed cedit in usum
 Nunc mihi, nunc alii. Quocirca vivite fortes;
 Fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.

POPE.

Then cheerful healths (your mistress shall have place,)
 And, what's more rare, a poet shall say grace.
 Fortune not much of humbling me can boast;
 Though double taxed, how little have I lost!
 My life's amusements have been just the same
 Before and after standing armies came.
 My lands are sold, my father's house is gone.
 I'll hire another's: is not that my own,
 And yours, my friends? through whose free opening gate
 None comes too early, none departs too late.
 (For I, who hold sage Homer's rule the best,
 Welcome the coming, speed the going guest.)
 "Pray heaven it last! (cries Swift) as you go on;
 "I wish to God this house had been your own!
 "Pity! to build without a son or wife:
 "Why, you'll enjoy it only all your life."
 Well, if the use be mine, can it concern one
 Whether the name belong to Pope or Vernon?
 What's property? Dear Swift! you see it alter
 From you to me, from me to Peter Walter;
 Or, in a mortgage, prove a lawyer's share;
 Or, in a jointure, vanish from the heir:
 Or, in pure equity (the case not clear),
 The Chancery takes your rents for twenty year.
 At best it falls to some ungracious son,
 Who cries "My father's damned, and all's my own."
 Shades that to Bacon could retreat afford
 Become the portion of a booby lord;
 And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,
 Slides to a scrivener, or a city knight.
 Let lands and houses have what lords they will,
 Let us be fixed and our own masters still.

The publication of these satires, which were neatly printed in quarto, constituted one of the most fortunate adventures upon which the worthy priest of Auchinhalrig had hitherto speculated, and far exceeded the profits of his agricultural concerns. Towards the conclusion of his preface he informs his readers, “If what I now publish should happen to be well received, the rest of the satires *may possibly* soon follow, on the same plan, and in the same form.” This intention, however, he never executed; yet not from want of success, as the passage may seem to implicate, but from a multiplicity of other occupations into which he shortly afterwards plunged, and which totally absorbed his time and diverted his attention. His impression of this effort of his genius, - on the contrary, which extended to seven hundred and fifty copies, procured for him a clear gain of nearly one hundred pounds sterling; a sum which he received not only with exultation, but with admiration at his own good fortune. This he duly applied to the liquidation of his arrears; and having been also fortunate enough to receive additional assistance from several other quarters, which he directed to the same object, he once more found himself completely rescued from the difficulties in which, for a second time, the natural ardour and benevolence of his mind had involved him.

The series of calamities, however, which he had

sustained for nearly ten years, during the whole period he had resided at Enzie and Auchinhalrig, and the experience he had now acquired that his pen was more likely to be of service to him than his plough, determined him to relinquish his retirement, and to try what success his abilities might obtain for him in London: although such was his attachment to his flock, that I much question whether he would have realized his determination, had not another circumstance occurred which gave additional vigour to it. Upon the marriage of lord Findlater with the daughter of count Murray of Melgum, Mr. Geddes was solicited to instruct the fair bride in the English language, and readily accepted the task. He now formed an intimate acquaintance with the reverend Mr. Buchanan, who had been preceptor to his lordship, and was so delighted with his good sense and liberality of heart, that he occasionally attended upon his ministry in the church at Cullen. The indignation of bishop Hay was again excited upon a knowledge of this fact: he at first expostulated, but soon found that expostulation was vainly urged against a man whose conscience did not accuse him of offence: from expostulation the irritated prelate advanced to acrimonious rebuke, and menaces of suspension: these were equally disregarded. There remained but

one more step to finish the climax ; it was, to put his threats into execution. Mr. Geddes expected it, and he was not disappointed : he was actually deposed from his office, and prohibited from preaching within the extent of bishop Hay's diocese, a short time after he had received the menace.

This event gave an irrevocable stamp to his decision of quitting his native country. He freely communicated his resolution and the double cause of it to both his congregations, who received it with an equal mixture of anger and affliction of heart. Nevertheless, the prospect that their beloved pastor would derive advantage from his leaving them consoled them in some degree for the great and irremediable loss they were about to sustain. Towards the end of the present year (1779), therefore, he took a most affectionate leave of them ; and such was the enthusiastic regard with which his courteousness, his kindness, his perpetual attention to the duties of his office, and especially to the instruction of the younger branches of his flock, had inspired them, that, at the sale of his household goods at Enzie, every one pressed forward to testify, by an extravagant bidding, his veneration and love, as well as to obtain possession of some monument of a man whose name and character were so justly dear to them. I am told, by a lady who was present upon the occasion, that

the most insignificant articles of furniture, even cups and saucers, though imperfect or broken, were caught at with the utmost avidity; and that the people appeared to prize the different lots they were fortunate enough to procure, rather as relics of a patron saint than as memorials of a beloved pastor.

Nor were the catholics, or rather the inhabitants at large of the parishes of Fouchabers and Auchinhalrig, the only persons who manifested any regard for Mr. Geddes at the time of his departure. His learning was well known throughout Scotland: he had, as I have already observed, contracted an intimate acquaintance with many of the literati of Aberdeen; and the university of this city now stepped forwards with a liberality highly creditable to itself, and in the beginning of the ensuing year (1780) granted him a diploma, by which he was created doctor of laws.

The national establishments of Scotland, and even the university professors themselves, have generally been accused of a narrow and bigoted spirit, not only in England but upon the continent. Of late years, however, the accusation has been certainly unjust: the present instance of conferring a diploma of doctor of laws upon a catholic priest is a sufficient exoneration of the professors and univer-

fity of Aberdeen from so opprobrious a charge; while, at Edinburgh, it is well known that Mr. Hume, notwithstanding the avowal of his deistical principles, was on terms of the most free and intimate friendship with doctors Robertson, Stuart, and Reid, as well as with almost every one of their colleagues or literary associates.

CHAPTER III.

Institution of the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Scotland by the exertions of Dr. Geddes and others—elected a resident, and afterwards a corresponding member—quits Enzie—arrives in London in company with lord Traquaire—officiates as priest in the Imperial ambassador's chapel—is introduced by the duchess of Gordon to lord Petre.—Lord Petre highly approves of the doctor's plan for translating the Bible, and patronizes him with an ample salary.—He quits the Imperial chapel, the establishment being suppressed, and officiates occasionally in the chapel in Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields—revisits Scotland, and is again a resident with the earl of Traquaire—publishes his Tweeddale pastoral—the occasion of it.—Riots in Scotland on account of sir George Saville's bill for relieving papists.—Riots in England on the same account.—Protestant association headed by lord George Gordon.—Conflagration of the metropolis.—Dr. Geddes writes his Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain—by the advice of his friends suppresses its publication—replies to Mr. Williams's fanatical pamphlet—the pamphlet and reply shortly examined. A. D. 1779—1802.

IN determining to quit his native country, Dr. Geddes did not determine without regret. He had the sincerest love for his congregation, and in the performance of his pastoral duty among them he placed his supreme delight. Necessity,

however, compelled him, and he quitted them amidst a profusion of prayers and tears on their side, and an honest and affectionate benediction on his own. There was also another circumstance which strongly influenced him at the present moment to a longer residence in his native country. The Society of Antiquaries in Scotland was at this period just embodied, and Dr. Geddes had taken a very active part in the institution, as well by his personal attendance as by his pen. The last literary labour, I believe, in which he engaged before he quitted Enzie, was a Dissertation on the Scoto-Saxon Dialect, written expressly for this infant establishment, and published, in conjunction with several other pieces with which he favoured it, in its volume for 1792. The loss of so active and able a contributor to its patriotic as well as its literary designs was severely felt by the society, who unanimously elected him, on his quitting them, a corresponding member; in consequence of which he again resumed his pen, and thanked them for this additional honour conferred on him, in an elegant epistle in the Scottish dialect, addressed to the president, who was the earl of Buchan, the vice-president, and the members at large*.

* I am not, I believe, acquainted with all the papers he contributed to this learned institution; but, in addition to those I have already mentioned, the volume published in 1792

He now departed from Enzie, devoted a few weeks to visits of personal friendship, and in company with lord Traquaire arrived at London in the beginning of the year 1780, where, by the kind exertions of this excellent nobleman, he was soon invited to officiate as priest in the Imperial ambassador's chapel. A new scene was now therefore before him, and one equally gratifying to his talents and his inclinations. His friend the earl of Buchan was at this period in London, and occupied a house in Leicester-square, which was always open to him, and where he renewed the happiness which for a series of years he had antecedently enjoyed in his own country from the courtesy and conversation of this illustrious scholar. His personal wants, however, were but few, and his income was equal to their demand; his own literary fame, and the complimentary letters of his friends in the North, had introduced him into an acquaintance with many of the first English scholars of the day; and

contains "The first Eklog of Virgil," and "The first Idyllion of Theocritus, translated into Skottis Vers," by the same writer; in the former of which the Edinburgh dialect is chiefly imitated; and in the latter the Buchan, which may be properly called the Scottish Doric. He also composed a Carmen Seculare for the society's anniversary of 1788, which I have never seen, but which the noble president asserts, in a letter before me, "will remain to late posterity as a most happy specimen of his abilities in that mode of writing."

from the unrestrained use of several public and private libraries which he found thrown open to him, he was once more seduced into the hope of being able to accomplish a new translation of the Bible. To crown the whole career of his prosperity, he now, for the first time, had the honour of an introduction to the late lord Petre, whom he met, by express invitation, at her grace the duchess of Gordon's, within whose hospitable mansion he had been welcomed, from the moment of his arrival in London, with all the courtesy and friendliness he had been accustomed to receive from the same noble family when in Scotland.

The want of a good vernacular version of the Bible, for the use of English catholics, was an evil which had been long lamented by lord Petre; and it constituted a source of immediate connexion between himself and Dr. Geddes, that, under the patronage of the former and the abilities of the latter, such a desideratum was now likely to be accomplished. The connexion became gradually more close and unrestrained, and each, I believe, experienced till the day of his lordship's decease, which preceded but a few months that of our indefatigable bibliast, an increasing esteem and attachment for the other.

To enable the doctor to prosecute his plan without any impediment whatsoever, this most excellent

nobleman, with an almost unparalleled generosity, "a princely munificence," as Dr. Geddes has justly and emphatically denominated it, engaged to allow him a salary of two hundred pounds, and took upon himself the entire expence of whatever private library the doctor might judge requisite to establish in the prosecution of his favourite object, leaving him, in this respect, indeed, totally unlimited, and master of his own conduct.

With a heart overloaded with gratitude, and exulting with joy, our biblical student now set seriously to work in the arrangement of his plan, and in the same year, 1780, published his first imperfect sketch of it, under the title of an "Idea of a New Version of the Holy Bible, for the Use of the English Catholics." I call it an *imperfect sketch*, for he has so admitted it to have been himself. It has already been observed, that the only version of the Bible at this time in the hands of the English catholics was Dr. Chaloner's edition of the barbarous translation made at Rheims and Douay; an edition remodelled on the Clementine Vulgate, and modernized into somewhat better English, as well as into a more convenient form. "It was my present intention," says the doctor, "to translate from the Vulgate, and even to make the Douay version, with Chaloner's amendments, in some respects the basis of mine; and of such a

plan I published a short view in 1780, which I called *Idea of a New Version* of the Holy Bible, &c. But I soon found that this was an absurd *idea*; and that, by patching and piecing what already had been pieced and patched, I should make a strange composition indeed.

“An entirely new translation from the Vulgate, but with such corrections as were manifestly warranted, was next in my contemplation, and partly executed. But a very short trial convinced me, that neither would this method ever produce a tolerable version. Had I pursued this method, I must have been perpetually confronting the Vulgate with the Originals, and very often correcting it by them; or presented my readers with a very unfair and imperfect representation of the Sacred text. The former of these inconveniences had, I saw, been the fate of those latter French, German, and Italian translators, who have taken the Vulgate for their original. In almost every page, they are making lame apologies for the Latin text, or reforming and explaining it from the Hebrew and Greek. Yet, after all such explanations and corrections, and notwithstanding the very great freedoms which they allow themselves in rendering, there is no uniformity of style nor regularity of features in any of their versions.

“Nor was this inconvenience to be avoided,

but by first giving an uniform face to the Latin itself, as had been before attempted by the catholic Clarius, and the protestant Oleaster. For the great defect of St. Jerom's version is its want of uniformity; it being sometimes strict and sometimes loose, now barbarously literal, and now widely paraphrastic: every translation made from it, then, must partake of this variety.

"This is not all. A considerable part of the Vulgate, including the whole Psalter, is not St. Jerom's, but a translation from a translation none of the best, and moreover contaminated by corruptions that are not in the Greek, from which it was originally made: hence it is often unintelligible. Bellarmine laboured many years, and with much zeal, to remove its obscurities; and has indeed thrown considerable light on his subject: but how? By having constantly recourse to the original Hebrew, such as he found it in the common masoretic copies of his day.

"Yet a stronger motive than all these I had to give up my first inconsiderate plan. Biblical criticism had recently taken a new turn, and been carried to a degree of perfection which it had never before attained; and which, in the old rabbinical system, it could not attain. The inveterate prejudices of both catholics and protestants had in a great degree yielded to the dictates of

sober sense. The absolute authenticity of the Vulgate was generally given up by the former; and the absolute integrity of the original text was defended but by few of the latter. The learned of both parties were agreed about the expediency of not only correcting the errors of translators, but of also purging the Originals themselves from such corruptions as time and the negligence of copyists had introduced: and both differed but little concerning the means of accomplishing so desirable an end.

“ The first of these means was a collation of the manuscript copies with the printed text, and of the various editions with one another. By the accumulated labours of Mills, Kuster, Wetstein, Griesbach, and others, this had already been well nigh accomplished with respect to the New Testament; and Dr. Kennicott had gone a great length in doing the same with respect to the Old. De Rossi had greatly contributed toward the same laudable purpose, and almost completed the work: so that we have now before us the true present state of the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as of the Greek: and the only difficulty that remains is to distinguish, in such a mass of various readings, the genuine from the spurious, or the more probable from the less probable. This is the task of criticism, and of criticism only: for no authority on

earth can make a text genuine or spurious, that was not such originally : nor can the dross be discriminated from the silver but in the crucible of a severe rational critique : a critique of the very same nature with that by which we ascertain the true or more probable readings of Homer, Virgil, Milton, Shakspeare : for why the grammatical errors that have crept into the compositions of the Jewish writers should not be corrected by the same rules, as all other ancient compositions, is what I never could comprehend.

“ To tell me that there is a manifest difference, arising from this, that the latter are only human works, the former divine ; is, as I conceive, to tell me nothing to the purpose. For granting, what I need not grant, that every sentence, word, syllable, apex of the Bible were originally divine ; that is to say, directly and immediately inspired by the Spirit of God, does it hence follow, that they who first transcribed those divinely inspired volumes from the autographs, and they who copied and re-copied these through every age, were likewise divinely inspired ? I scarcely think, that the greatest Jewish stickler for the integrity of the Hebrew text will, at this day, maintain so strange a paradox.

“ That Christians should ever have thought so is, to me, beyond all things astonishing. For let me ask, Is the Jewish code more sacred than the

Christian code? or has the LORD GOD taken more infallible measures to preserve the *defective elements* of a temporary and local dispensation, than to preserve the great and ultimate revelation communicated to all mankind by his singularly beloved Son? We all know that this superior code of laws, though written much later than the other, and transmitted in a language more universally known, has nevertheless been handed down to us with such a variety of lection, as is hardly to be met with in any profane writer. The reason is obvious: it has been more frequently copied than any other writing, and too often copied by ignorant or careless apographists.

“ But not to wander from my present subject: finding, as I have said, sacred criticism in a favourable progress towards perfection, having before me the various readings of the texts of Scripture, and the several versions made from them, with a biblical apparatus (through the princely munificence of lord Petre) which few individuals possess: grieved besides, to observe among the English catholics an almost total want of taste for biblical studies, and wishing to remove a reproach, which in protestant literary companies I had often heard made on that account; a reproach too well founded to be repelled: I thought I could not better serve the cause of Christianity in general,

nor better consult the particular interest of that body to which I more immediately belonged, than by employing that, whatsoever, portion of talents which had fallen to my share, in attempting a new and faithful translation of the Bible from corrected texts of the original, unaccompanied with any glose, commentary or annotations, but such as were necessary to ascertain the literal meaning of my text; and free of every sort of interpretation calculated to establish or defend any particular system of religious credence."

At the close of this year he ceased to officiate in his sacerdotal character in the Imperial ambassador's chapel, the entire establishment being, at this period, suppressed by an express order from the emperor Joseph II. He preached however occasionally at the chapel in Duke-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and continued to perform the same kind of occasional service till the Easter holidays of 1782; after which period he found his time so much absorbed by domestic literature, and especially by his translation of the Bible, that he voluntarily withdrew from every stated ministerial function, and seldom officiated in any chapel whatever.

In the summer of 1781 he paid a visit to his friends in Scotland, whose kindness was still deeply engraven on his bosom; and being now freed, by

distance of time, as well as a variety of other circumstances, from the effects of a too susceptible heart, he accepted an invitation from his tried friend and first patron the earl of Traquaire, and once more visited the delightful scenery of Tweeddale. His lordship had at this time become a husband, and was on the point of becoming a father: he had married into the illustrious family of the Ravenscrofts, and was actually blessed with an heir during the period of the doctor's visit. Could he, as a poet, wish for a more propitious opportunity of complimenting his noble host and hostess? The subject of young Marcellus, though more tragical, can scarcely be conceived to have been more interesting; and though precluded from copying Virgil in his *Æneid*, he was determined to imitate him in his *Eclogues*. Pollio was the poem he selected for his proto-type: an old prophetic minstrel of the country, denominated Thomas of Lermount, had predicted that when an eagle should be the offspring of a raven and a rook, joyful tidings should arise for the bonny men of Tweeddale. Now it happened happily enough for our poet, who did not fail to take advantage of the incident, that while the second of these three birds composed the arms of the Ravenscroft family, the third constituted the crest in the armorial bearings of the Traquaires; independently of which, the vigour of the infant offspring

of the marriage was a fortunate emblem of the predicted eaglet. The argument is thus explained; and the versatile genius of Dr. Geddes, in connecting these isolated facts, composed a Tweeddale pastoral, which, after the family-seat and second title of his noble host, he denominated Linton. In this, as may be supposed, he asserts that the prophecy of the old minstrel was on the point of being accomplished by the birth of the infant lord Linton; and that the bonny men of Tweeddale would be in full re-possession of the golden days of Saturn at the period of his majority; when

— war and discord and domestic strife,
And all the other woes of human life,
Death, famine, plague, mortality, shall cease,
And all be health, and harmony and peace.

This amiable tribute of friendship, if it did not produce to the writer quite as many sesterces as were paid to Virgil for the composition of the sixth book of his *Æneid*, was not meant to be thus remunerated. It was a far higher gratification to our poet that it was received with much applause by the illustrious pair for whom it was designed, and who immediately gave orders for its being printed at Edinburgh. I cannot, however, regard it as one of the happiest effusions of the doctor's fancy: his versification does not possess

his usual vigour ; his imitations are, for the most part, devoid of felicity, and in his original ideas he is meagre and enfeebled. Polemics and the Bible, as may be expected, are still uppermost in his mind, and the following verses may be selected as a fair specimen of the general merit of the poem:

*At length the sun starts from his nuptial bed *,
With beams of new-born radiance round his head ;
Joyous he springs to run th' ethereal course,
And, like a giant, glories in his force † :
The hours and seasons wait upon his nod,
And own the empire of the ruling god.*

.
No more Religion, with fanatic hand,
Shall fan the fire of faction in the land ;
But, mild and gentle like her heavenly SIRE,
No other flames but those of LOVE inspire.
Papist and protestant shall strive to raise,
In different notes, ONE great CREATOR'S praise.
Polemic volumes on their shelves shall rot,
And Hays and Abernethies be forgot.

Such were uniformly the wishes of our very liberal and comprehensive scholar ; but such was not the universal wish of the day in which he thus expressed them. I have already noticed the animosity which subsisted in Scotland at the period

* Tanquam sponsus procedens de thalamo suo. Ps. xviii,

† Exultavit, ut gigas, ad currendam viam suam. Ibid.

of his fixing in Auchinhalrig. In the year 1778 a bill was introduced into the house of commons by that illustrious character sir George Saville, which was intended “to relieve his majesty’s subjects professing the popish religion, from certain penalties and disabilities imposed on them by an act made in the eleventh and twelfth years of William III.” The object of this liberal interference of the legislature was to remove merely a part of the very heavy and more obnoxious punishments to which the catholics of Great Britain were at this time amenable; and to allow them, upon taking an oath of allegiance to the king, renouncing the claims of the pretender, and denying the power of the pope in all political concerns, to enjoy an undisturbed profession of their religion, and to purchase and bequeath estates in any part of the British dominions. It is to the praise of the English character, that this bill upon its introduction to the legislature received the most manifest marks of universal approbation, was carried with general consent, and had the prospect of being speedily followed by others of a more liberal tendency still. Such however was not the effect it produced in Scotland, upon a report soon afterwards propagated, that the benefit of this act was designed to be extended to that part of the united kingdom. The jealous soul of bigotry was alarmed

at the mere idea of relieving papists in any way; and its jaundiced eye pretended to behold in the present very circumscribed act of grace, a re-introduction of all the popish absurdities and tyrannies of former times, a re-conversion of the people to the popish religion, a total destruction of the constitution, and a fresh triumph of the pontifical tiara. With all the speed of electricity this wild and fanatical terror was propagated from bosom to bosom, from church to church, from town to town, throughout the whole extent of Scotland. Societies were instituted for the defence, as it was called, of the protestant faith; committees were appointed, the most inflammatory pamphlets written, approved, and circulated gratuitously among the common people, and every step resorted to which could tend to excite their fury. In most of the principal cities, and especially at Edinburgh and Glasgow, the spirit of persecution broke out into open acts of violence and cruelty against papists who had long resided there with reputation and credit; and the British government, fearful of the consequences of this religious phrensy, in a moment of frigid prudence and puerile imbecility, forbore its benevolent purpose, and relinquished the idea of benefiting the catholics on the northern side of the Tweed.

It was not enough, however, that the bigots of

Scotland had obtained this personal triumph. They pretended that they did not conceive themselves safe while the remotest degree of favour was evinced towards Roman catholics in any part of the island. Pamphlets of the most vehement zeal, written in the North, were circulated with all possible industry throughout the South; and amongst these I am much astonished to find one by the late very amiable and learned Dr. Campbell, who was at that time principal of the Marischal college in Aberdeen. It is entitled, a "Vindication of the Opposition to the late intended Bill for the Relief of Roman Catholics in Scotland." It possesses more moderation, nevertheless, than the greater part of those which swarmed at this time from the press, and with much declamation interweaves some few threads of argument. It is well known, however, and it becomes me to state as much, that the worthy principal's views upon this subject were considerably changed during the latter years of his life: and the spirit of liberality and candour which blazes forth, with a very different sort of flame, through every page of his Lectures on Ecclesiastical History, if they do not completely atone for the prejudices he at this time discovered, ought at least to shield him from the anathemas of the catholic church on the anniversaries of her commination.

The efforts of the Scotch bigots were unfortunately but too successful in England. Here, also, we had *protestant associations* formed in different parts of the country; and the operations of the immense body assembled under this denomination in London, and who elected lord George Gordon their president, (a Scotch nobleman, who had formerly been one of the most violent firebrands in his own country in favour of the protestant faith, and who afterwards abjured this peculiar faith, and even the Christian religion itself, in favour of Judaism,) are to this hour so indelibly impressed on the mind of every one, that it would be useless to detail them. It is sufficient to add, that parliament had too much spirit to yield to the lawless violence of a fanatic and inebriate mob; that the repeal, which was thus illegally, and in the midst of personal insults and tremendous conflagrations, demanded of both houses, was not granted; and that the act passed with the limitation above specified with respect to Scotland.

At this period of national tumult and disgrace it is not to be supposed that the active soul of Alexander Geddes could remain asleep. Under the title of "A Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain, addressed to all moderate Protestants, particularly to the Members of both Houses of Parliament," he drew up a history

of the Roman catholic church, comparing it, as he proceeds, with that of the church of England, in relation to her jurisdiction, her doctrines, her discipline; which, on account of its profound historic researches, the undaunted freedom of its discussions, and the candor and liberality which flow through every page, is a most valuable production, and well worthy the attention of every person who is solicitous of acquiring a knowledge of the real principles of the Roman catholic religion. So much agitated however was the public mind, by the disgraceful riots and dreadful mischiefs under which the city of London was at this moment groaning, and so little prospect did there appear of fixing the general eye with a due degree of steadiness to this important appeal, that, valuable as the work was in itself, and highly worthy of the most extensive circulation, it was the opinion of the author's friends it would be prudent to suppress its publication at present, and to wait till the public terror and exacerbation should be allayed, and the public attention be more at liberty. The advice was taken, and the volume did not make its appearance till 1800, being very nearly twenty years after its composition. I pass it by, therefore, for the present without further notice; and shall resume my

account of it when, in the progress of our narrative, we shall reach the period of its issuing from the press.

Our author could not, nevertheless, content himself with being totally silent; and having accidentally laid his hands on one of the most furious and bigoted pamphlets of the day, entitled “A Full Detection of Popery, and Defence of a Protestant Barrier to be preserved by a more general Association of Protestants,” printed at Durham, and which in its second edition, or what was pretended to be its second edition, assumed, as the writer’s name, the signature of John Williams, with a dedication to sir James Lowther, he instantly replied to it by an anonymous critique, which he denominated “Curfory Remarks on a late Fanatical Publication, entitled A Full Detection, &c. submitted to the candid Perusal of the liberal-minded of every Denomination.” Printed for the Author, and sold by Keating, Faulder, and Debrett, 1783.

The writer of this Full Detection deserved a severe castigation for his ignorance and his violence, and in these Remarks he has met with one equal to his demerits. He has absurdity enough to attribute the insurrection and conflagrations of the metropolis to fanatic papists instead of protestants, the latter of whom were in his opinion

the mere tools of the former: and madly asserts, that the whole catastrophe was publicly spoken of at Rome, before its perpetration in England:— “a proof,” continues he, “of its having been preconceived in that city plainly to ruin the character of protestantism, and on its ashes to raise that papal idolatry, which is more abhorrent, because it takes the name of Christ to sanctify it, and is the great machine of slavery.” In the course of this enthusiastic philippic, the king himself is accused of being “a papist at heart;” and country gentlemen are exhorted to associate in defence of the protestant religion, from the consideration that they do so for the more trivial purpose of *preserving their game*. With these, and many other still grosser absurdities, are interwoven a variety of more popular but equally erroneous ideas: of which I may be allowed to notice two, as they seem by no means to have lost their operation in the present day. The first is, that in consequence of sir George Saville’s act, Roman catholics were re-instated in the possession of all, or nearly all, the privileges and immunities of which they had been deprived by other acts of the legislature, and were admitted to an equal, or nearly an equal, participation of rights with protestants. I have already stated the extent of

the relief obtained for them by this interference of the legislature, that it consisted—and merely in consequence of taking an oath, drawn up as fully and as strongly as words could convey—in an exemption from certain very severe and impolitic restrictions contained in an act of the eleventh and twelfth of William III. leaving them still subject to all the different penalties and punishments specified in the several statutes enacted previous to this period for prohibiting the exercise of the popish religion ; and as much as ever disabled from occupying any civil, military, or legislative post : a disability to which they are even at the present hour almost as much subject as at any time, notwithstanding the additional and important benefits they have since obtained by the act of the 31st of his present majesty, of which the reader will meet with a further account as he proceeds.

Another erroneous idea, common at the present day with the period in which this libellous and incendiary pamphlet was published, and which is repeatedly brought forward in its pages, is an ascription to modern catholics of all the trash and absurdities believed by their forefathers in the darkest and most ignorant ages. Within the term of the last century, there is scarcely a religious sect of any description which has not ex-

hibited some variation in its creed, its discipline, or its manners. The articles of our own established church are differently interpreted by many, even of the right reverend bench itself, from what they were formerly, and it seems doubtful from modern controversies, whether their basis be chiefly Arminian or Calvinistic. The presbyterian has assumed a suavity of character unknown to his more rigid ancestors: and even the quakers, who were unquestionably unitarians at an earlier age, have now conformed to a belief in the trinity, and have lately silenced, by a synodic resolution, one or two of their best speakers, who have shown a disposition to revert to their original faith. But papists, and papists alone, are supposed to be unchanged, and unchangeable: and because the great mass of their forefathers, some centuries ago, admitted of indulgencies, pilgrimages, the damnation of heretics, papal infallibility, the worship of shrines, pictures, and blessed medals, it is conceived that every papist must necessarily do the same at the present day; and that the dawn of science, which has irradiated and humanized every sect besides, has for them only arisen in vain, and diffused a useless lustre. “Having crossed the Alps and Pyrenees,” says the writer of this absurd pamphlet, “I have examined the temper, and

seen the disposition, of this extensive part of the enlightened world, and defy any man to assert that *a single shade* is taken off in the modern, which, in the early period of time, had been received from bigotry." I shall suffer our remarker to attach the whole of this observation in his own words. "Lo! Mr. Williams," says he, "has crossed the Alps and Pyrenées! And surely he has travelled to some purpose, since he has seen what no other tour-maker is likely to discover. Addison, who was at least as accurate an observer as Mr. Williams, seems to have been of a different opinion. He found, even in his time, 'that there had been a kind of secret reformation made in the Roman catholic church, since the spreading of the protestant religion:' and though, in my opinion, he ascribes this to a wrong, or at least only a partial cause, the fact itself is indisputable. The cloud of superstition, which gathered during the ages of ignorance, and which had so long hung over the Christian world, has been continually dissipating since the revival of letters; and the *catholic* as well as the *protestant* hemisphere grows every day brighter and brighter. If some spots of darkness still remain, it is hoped that the sunshine of a sober philosophy will soon dispel them, and produce at length that serenity of

disposition among the human species, which every generous heart must wish to behold. In the mean time, I would advise Mr. Williams *to cross the Alps and Pyrenees* once again, and *examine the temper and disposition* of that part of the globe a little more narrowly, before he ventures to make such another ridiculous *defy*. If he travels with open eyes, he will see, at Rome itself, protestants carested, encouraged, and rewarded, according to their degree of eminence, industry, and merit; he will see English protestants, in particular, meet with more regard and attention than perhaps at any other court in Europe; he will see, in some parts of Italy, that political and religious liberty is as well understood, and as tenaciously maintained, as in any other country; he will see the power of an *odious tribunal* abolished at Naples, abolishing at Madrid, and abridged at Lisbon; he will see a great number of idle festivals retrenched from the calendar, and frugal industry take place, on those days of dissipation; he will see the learned and zealous of the clergy using their utmost endeavours to eradicate old prejudices, to explode false miracles, to expunge fabulous legends, to correct all popular abuses, and to excite their respective flocks, both by words and example, to live ‘soberly, justly, and piously,’ according to the rules of the

gospel. In fine, he will see an intelligent pontiff authorizing vernacular translations of the *Holy Scriptures*; and declaring in the most explicit manner, that ‘*they are sources to which all the faithful ought to have free access, in order thence to draw a sound doctrine, and pure morality**.’”

I shall dismiss the doctor’s observations upon this pamphlet with the following very pertinent and liberal paragraph, with which his Reply concludes: “Let us learn from the example of a neighbouring nation, ‘how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity.’ There the protestants, instead of persecuting the catholics, do every thing in their power to make their situation comfortable; and even build chapels for them, where they are too poor to do it for themselves. Behold, in Germany, a catholic prince pursuing the same conciliating plan, and rearing temples for protestants.

“At a time when all countries have either begun, or are beginning, to break the chains of intolerance, when protestants are restored to their just rights in catholic kingdoms, and catholics in protestant—in kingdoms, where the general rights of mankind are too often trampled upon

* *Fontes uberrimi, qui cuique patere debent, ad hauriendam et doctrinæ et morum sanctitatem.* Letter of the late pope to abbate Martini.

by arbitrary power—shall England, who glories in being the genial parent and patroness of liberty, deny her catholic subjects the benefits of a free constitution, and remain the last persecuting nation in the Christian world!—Every generous thinking Englishman cries, No, no, no!”

CHAPTER IV.

Dr. Geddes accompanies lord and lady Traquaire in a tour to the South of France—returns to London—becomes acquainted with Dr. Kennicott—is introduced to Dr. Lowth—advised by the latter to draw up a Prospectus of his intended version of the Bible—accedes to the advice—publishes, it with a Dedication to lord Petre—Analysis of the Prospectus. A. D. 1782—1786.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ardor with which Dr. Geddes had engaged in the controversy upon the subject of toleration, he did not, nevertheless, relax in his biblical studies. The greater part of the riots produced by the bill for the relief of Roman catholics occurred during his residence at Linton. Upon their having a little subsided, previous however to his recurring to his more recondite labours, he accompanied his noble host and hostess to Paris, and readily consented to forget the distressing scenes they had witnessed or heard of, in the recreation of an agreeable tour through the South of France. From France he soon returned to Scotland, and from Scotland to London, now burning with impatience to resume his theological pursuits, and accomplish the prime object of his bosom; of which he

might truly have said in the tender language of Goldsmith to his brother,

Where'er I roam, whatever climes I see,
My heart, untravelled, fondly turns to thee.

A fortunate accident introduced him at this period of time, 1783, to Dr. Kennicott, and stimulated him more than any event that had yet occurred in the whole course of his life, save the patronage of lord Petre, in this important undertaking. No man knew better than this illustrious scholar the great want to the nation, and indeed to the world at large, of a new translation of the Sacred Scriptures, from corrected copies of the originals; for no man was better acquainted with the defects of every existing version, and no man had labored more successfully to collect materials for such a purpose. The fame of our author's talents had reached him, and he received from his own mouth, with much satisfaction and delight, a more general account of his plan. His friendship, however, did not terminate in empty professions of satisfaction: he generously offered him every assistance in his power, and cordially introduced him to the first biblical scholars of the age. "I had hardly made known my design," says the doctor, "when he anticipated my wishes to have his advice and assistance towards the exe-

cution of it, with a degree of unreserved frankness and friendship which I had never before experienced in a stranger. Not contented with applauding and encouraging me himself, he pushed me forwards from my obscurity to the notice of others: he spoke of me to Barrington; he introduced me to Lowth. The very short time he lived, after my acquaintance with him, and the few opportunities I had of profiting from his conversation, are distressing reflections: but still I count it a happiness to have been acquainted with a man, whose labours I have daily occasion to bless, and whose memory I must ever revere *."

Of his acquaintance with this inestimable prelate Dr. Geddes was accustomed to speak with an equal degree of pleasure and pride----"quem honoris causâ," says he in his Address to the Public, "nominino semperque nominabo." Dr. Lowth was as much pleased with the intention as Dr. Kennicott; and, at his immediate suggestion, our biblicist now engaged in writing an ample Prospectus of his version. This occupied his pen throughout the remainder of the present year and the spring of 1784: and when completed, he availed himself of his lordship's courteousness, and submitted it to his inspection; requesting, at the same time,

* Prospectus, p. 143.

that he would mark with a black Theta whatever passage might appear objectionable. The answer of this excellent man, as well as admirable scholar, is of too much consequence to the character of both of them to be omitted in this place. The following is a copy :

“ The bishop of London presents his compliments to Dr. Geddes, and returns, with thanks, his Prospectus, which he has read with some care and attention, and with the fullest approbation. He finds no room for black Thetas; and he doubts not that it will give universal satisfaction. He cannot help wishing that Dr. Geddes would publish it: it would not only answer his design of introducing his work, but would really be a useful and edifying treatise for young students in divinity.”

“ This testimony alone,” observes Dr. Geddes modestly, “ from one of the most elegant scholars and first biblical critics of the age, was more than sufficient to remove my still remaining timorousness, and to make me pursue my project with confidence and resolution. This,” continues he, “ was in the year 1785. In the ensuing spring my Prospectus was published, and met with a reception which could not but be flattering to an obscure individual, whose name was hardly known in the republic of letters, and who had neither

credit nor connexions to push him forwards into consideration*.”

The Prospectus, though not published till the spring of 1786, was printed however towards the close of the preceding autumn, and at a Glasgow press: from which latter circumstance we may conjecture that he at this time paid another visit to his native country, and engaged a printer with whom he had formerly been in the habit of acquaintance. I know not the number of copies of which the impression consisted. It was put to press on his own account, and had a very general and satisfactory circulation. “Were I to print all the letters of compliment,” says he, “which I was favoured with on that occasion, they would form not a petty volume. Not only were praises liberally bestowed, but valuable communications were imparted from different quarters of the kingdom, and even from foreign countries†.”

And most justly was it entitled to the reception it experienced; for it comprises a regular series of

* Address to the Public, p. 8.

† Ibid.—Of a great variety of literary characters, who favoured him at this time with important communications and other tokens of approbation, he gives a particular specification in his Letter to the Bishop of London, p. 84 and following.

biblical history from the earliest ages of the world to the close of the last century, extracted with unwearied assiduity from libraries of musty and moth-eaten parchments and other records, in conjunction with the assistances of modern times; condensed with consummate judgment; exhibiting the most ample proofs of liberal criticism and perspicuous arrangement; and offering to the public a volume of equal importance and entertainment.

It is briefly but elegantly dedicated to his patron lord Petre, "as the first fruits of many years of painful labour, in the pleasing hope of being, one day, able to lay before him the whole harvest." To such a dedication his lordship, indeed, was entitled, and the grateful heart of Dr. Geddes never neglected a single opportunity of testifying the obligations of which it was sensible. "If my work," says he, in the body of this same publication, "shall have any merit, the world will stand principally indebted for it to the right honourable lord Petre; at whose request it was undertaken, and under whose patronage it is carried on. For although the plan itself is a plan of twenty years standing; and although the author had never any thing so much at heart as its accomplishment; yet his circumstances in life were such as must have rendered that impossible, without the provi-

dential interposition of such a patron. But lord Petre is not only the author's patron, he is in some respects the author. It was his great love for religion, and his extreme desire of seeing scriptural knowledge more generally promoted among those of his own communion, that suggested to him the idea of procuring a new translation, before he knew that I had ever entertained a similar idea, and at a time when I had almost despaired of seeing it realized. His lordship, I trust, will pardon me for inserting without his knowledge this public testimony of his piety and munificence; which I could not suppress without violence to my own feelings, and which the public has, in some sort, a right to know*."

The object of the Prospectus is to explore the causes which have concurred to render former translations of the Bible defective, and to point out the means by which many of their defects may be removed. Of the causes of imperfection he enumerates several. One of the chief is the imperfection and inaccuracy of the originals themselves, from which our modern translations are derived: for if, which is an admitted fact, the text itself, from the ignorance, carelessness, and inaccuracy of copyists, be in many places corrupted, the version must necessarily participate of

* Prospectus, p. 144.

its errors. The Jewish rabbins contend, indeed, that they are in possession of a scheme, derived immemorially from their forefathers, which protects it from all possibility of vitiation; and that in every disputable point they have nothing to do but to have recourse to this scheme or book, which, from the term מסר (Mafr), or tradition, they denominate Mafora, and that an incontrovertible decision is hence immediately obtained. It may not be known to all my readers, that, in its earliest state, the Hebrew Bible, consistently with the original custom of most oriental languages, was written without any breaks or divisions in its text into chapters, verses, or even words; every individual letter being placed at an equal distance from that which followed it throughout every separate book. When breaks and divisions were first of all, therefore, introduced into the transcription of individuals, it is easy to conceive what vast differences must have existed in different copies, each interpreting for himself, and consulting his own judgment alone as to the sense and intention of the original text. The Mafora endeavoured to remedy this variety of lection, by numbering not only every chapter and section, but every verse, word, and letter, of which every book of the Sacred Scriptures consists; and this by the introduction either above or below of vowel points, ac-

cents, and pauses. Who were the authors of this pretendedly infallible canon we know not. By many of the rabbins it is asserted to be coeval with the delivery of the law to Moses on mount Sinai, having been communicated to him in their opinion at the same time, and handed down to posterior ages of the Jews by tradition. There are others again who assert that the system was invented in the time of Ezra; while Dr. Kennicott will not allow it to be of an older date than the beginning of the ninth, and Morinus than that of the tenth, century of the Christian æra. Be this however as it may, since we know not who first invented it, nor what authority its inventors had for their own opinion rather than for that of any other ancient copy affording a different division, it is obvious that even at its first institution it was as open to the charge of corruption as any rival transcript. But if this be true of the Masoretic text at first, what ought to be our opinion of the different manuscripts and impressions of it, which have since been circulated through the world, encumbered and perplexed with this immense burthen of diacritic marks, and hereby rendered infinitely more difficult to copy and even to comprehend, than the more simple and undivided characters it was intended to illustrate?

“To give the reader, who is not acquainted with Hebrew grammar, some, not unfavourable, idea of Masoretic punctuation, let us suppose that the present English version of the Bible were the original; and written, as the original formerly was, in one uniform character, and without any of our modern marks of distinction. In this supposition, the text would run thus :

IN THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED
THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH

Let us next suppose that some ingenious pedagogue, remarking the great difference between this orthography and the present orthoëpy; and observing, also, that so close and connected an arrangement of words and letters is attended with some difficulty to unpractised readers; should set himself to contrive expedients, to remove those inconveniences; and, for that purpose, should reason in the following manner: ‘ Our alphabet has but five vowels to express fifteen vocal sounds;—Some of our consonants vary their powers according to their situation; and some of them have occasionally no power at all. The same letter is sometimes an aspirate and sometimes not. Many words have more than one signification without any difference in the mode of utterance. Our written language has no pausal marks, and our prosody is not regulated by any

tonic distinctions. To remedy these evils, and to fix the true English pronunciation for all time to come, let our fifteen vowel sounds be represented by as many different symbols.

A open by	ˆ	E short by	˘	O long by	˙
A close by	-	E obscure by	:	O short by	˘˙
A broad by	ˆˆ	I long by	˙˙	U long by	˙*
A slender by	-:	I short by	˙	U short by	˙˙
E long by	-˙	I French by	:-	U English	˙˙˙

Then, let the hard sounds of C and G, I and V consonants, and all quiescents be marked with a dot above, and the aspirate H and hissing S with a small horizontal line.—Let all words be separated by proper spaces, and distinguished by proportionate pauses. Let

A full pause be marked thus	ˆ	} both below the line,
A smaller pause thus	˘	
A still smaller pause thus	:	} both above the line.
And the smallest of all thus	::	

“ He said, and straightway fell to work: and lo! the whole Bible, in his industrious hands, assumed in due time this rare appearance.

IN THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED
THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH

* The symbols of I short, O long, and U long, are the same; but the first is placed below the line, the second above, and the last in the middle.

“ It is of no importance, whether these symbols, which are indeed the very rabbinical points, are as accurately combined, and adapted to our language, as they might be : they are sufficiently so to express the idea that is meant to be conveyed ; and now, my good reader, what think you of this improvement ? ‘ The distinction of words,’ you will say, ‘ is well enough : the marks of pausation, though multiplied without necessity, may also have their use : but to attempt to fix a pronunciation that is ever fluctuating, and tones that are continually changing, by any other rules than the present usage, and the practice of the best speakers, is a foolish and fruitless attempt. For how are the powers of these very symbols ascertained, but by an immediate appeal to living sounds, and the now prevailing modes of utterance ? If these happen to change, as we know they imperceptibly do, what will be the use of your boasted symbols at any future period ? and by what canons will their respective powers be ascertained ? Granting even, that they had, like Ezekiel’s mystic wheels, a living and self-interpreting spirit within them, that could effectually and for ever arrest so fleeting a thing as vocal air ; why is their position in the text so awkward and unnatural ? Why are they generally placed, not beneath the vowels, the various powers of which

they are supposed to denote, but beneath the preceding or following consonant?' Stop, my honest friend; you are now quite mistaken: there are, no more, any vowels in the English alphabet. 'What? *a, e, i, o, u*, not vowels?' By no means: they are all consonants; mute consonants!—Have you any thing more to object?—'I have: Such a motley multitude of pricks and points disfigure the beauty and symmetry of the text, and often confuse the mind, as much as they bewilder the eye: and I dislike every thing that produceth confusion.' Good! But what if our pedagogue had crowded the scene with a whole host more of *regal* and *ministerial* attendants (for so the Hebrew grammarians denote their accents), with *sakeph-batons* and *sakeph-gadols*; *pashtas* and *karneparas*; *shalshaleths* and *mercakephalas*, and twenty other such barbarous names; of which, although it requires a little code of laws to marshal them, and although Bohlius is said to have in vain employed seven long years for that laudable purpose, yet neither he nor any one else could ever point out the uses? What if, instead of the true English pronunciation, he had given you a Scotch or Irish one? What if even his division of words and sentences were often not only trifling but palpably erroneous? What if other pedagogues, improving

on his improvements, had thrown out, by degrees, the original vowels, now become useless lumber; and if instead of GOD, HEAVEN, EARTH, you were presented with GD, HVN, ERTH, bespattered with pricks and patches as above? What if such elisions were called natural anomalies of English grammar? What—‘Sweep all that trash away,’ you would undoubtedly exclaim, ‘and give me again the plain old unpointed text of my Bible.’

“Such trash is the greatest part of the Masoretic points, which rabbinical pedagogues would impose upon us as the only sure interpreter of the Hebrew Scripture! Whoever wishes to see to what degree of absurdity, or insanity, even Christian writers have been led by this imposition, may read Wasmuth’s *Institutions*; Ouselet’s *de Accentuatione Hebraicâ*; or Walter Cress’s *Taghmical Art*, published at London in the year 1698.”

And yet the Jewish rabbins for the most part, and the greater number of Christian polemics since the revival of literature, and especially of the earlier protestants, have uniformly contended that the text of the Hebrew Scriptures is not only incorrupted, but essentially incorruptible, in consequence of this Masoretic system, to which they have equally appealed.

“ So generally diffused, and so strongly riveted,” observes our author, “ was this prejudice, that when Capellus first ventured to unclinch* it, in his *Critica Sacra*, he was accounted a sort of apostate from the sound doctrine of the reformed churches, and could not find a protestant bookseller to print his work. And, what is still more strange, when Dr. Kennicott, not many years ago, published his excellent *Dissertations* on the state of the Hebrew text, those were not wanting, even in this country, who brought the same charges against him as had been formerly brought against Capellus; nor did it depend on them, that the greatest literary undertaking of this, or indeed of any other age, was not quashed in its very beginning, as hurtful to Christianity†.”

* In p. 80 of his Letter to the bishop of London, the doctor informs us that this word had been objected to by some correspondent as inelegant, and he proposes to substitute *undo*. This, however, is but a sorry substitute after all, and has little more elegance than the former. To “ *unclinch*,” or “ *undo*,” a diffused and riveted prejudice, are phrases not projected in our author’s happiest moments of composition: perhaps *attack* might be more to the purpose than either of them; though the sentence will be still incongruous and illogical; for to be *diffused* implies freedom, but to be *riveted*, confinement: while it was the *public mind* which was chained or *riveted*, and not the *prejudice*, which formed the chain or rivet itself.

† Prospectus, p. 8.

“Beside these circumstantial and extraneous causes of mistake, that are more or less common to them with all old writings, there are others which make the Hebrew Scriptures particularly liable to chirographical errors; and which may be called intrinsic sources of corruption. At one period, the whole text was changed from the Hebrew to the Chaldee characters. Many of the letters in both alphabets have a strong resemblance to one another; and, in some of them, the diacritic marks are hardly distinguishable. The invention of vowel-points, by rendering the genuine vocal elements quiescent, gave frequently occasion to throw them out as useless; and that very thing, which was absurdly looked upon as the chief preservative of the sacred text from future errors, largely contributed to make it still more erroneous.

“If, with all this, we take into consideration the colloquial tautology of the Scripture style, the frequent occurrence of the same words and phrases, the repetition of the same or nearly the same sentences, the proximity and contiguity of the same terminations, the constant return of the same particles, pronouns and proper names, and the deceptions continually arising from the association of ideas, similarity of sounds and equivalence of

meaning, we shall be obliged to confess that it was scarcely possible for the most diligent and attentive transcriber to avoid committing many oversights.

“That many such oversights have been actually committed, and that a great number of corruptions have, by that means, gradually crept into the text, are positions which have, of late, been so invincibly established, that no one, we trust, will in future presume to call them in question. But let not this alarm the pious reader, as if the authenticity of the Scriptures were thereby weakened, or their authority rendered precarious. Were it necessary, to constitute an authentic deed, that the most recent and remote copies of it should be exactly the same with the first autograph, there would be no such thing in the world as any ancient authentic deed, of which the autograph had been lost: there could be no such thing, without a continual miracle. It is enough, that there is sufficient evidence of its being essentially the same with the original; and that the changes it has undergone, whether from design or accident, are not such as can affect its authority, as a genuine record.

“Such, precisely, is the case of the Hebrew Scriptures. Notwithstanding all the various cor-

ruptions, of whatsoever sort, that now disfigure them; it is as certain, as any position of this kind can possibly be, that they are still essentially the same; and that the whole historical tenor of the divine œconomy towards man has been preserved in them, without any important alteration, to the present time. Take the most modern and most imperfect transcript of their originals, that now exists; or even the most erroneous copy of the most erroneous version, that ever was made from them; and you shall find in it every thing that is absolutely necessary to constitute an authentic writing; and to answer all the great purposes for which they were intended.

“For beside the internal marks of genuineness, which they supereminently possess; they are supported by such a continued and closely connected chain of external evidence, as is not to be met with in favour of any other composition whatever. Who, but the paradoxical Hardouin, ever doubted of the authenticity of Plato’s Dialogues, or Demosthenes’s Orations? Yet they have come down to us with not half the number of vouchers that accompany the Jewish writings; and it would be easier to find ingenious arguments to prove that *those* were invented by the monks in the thirteenth century, than that *these* were fabricated at any particular period.

“ It is true, they have been transmitted with many errors, and are at this day extremely incorrect : but, here again, they have an advantage over most other writings ; the means of correcting them are more obvious and abundant. What these are, and how they are to be employed, it is now time to inquire *.”

Our author's first source of emendation is a collation and comparison of manuscripts, particularly of the Samaritan Scripture, so far as it extends (for it only contains the Pentateuch), with the Chaldee. To the Jewish manuscripts he does not attach an equal degree of importance, as being written posterior to the introduction of the Masora, and, for the most part, remodelled by some exemplar of it. They nevertheless, as he admits, afford many important readings with regard to the sense, and an almost infinite number of grammatic corrections. The invaluable labours of Dr. Kennicott, and De Rossi of Parma, are, therefore, appreciated as they deserve ; the former of whom has collected his various renderings from more than six hundred manuscripts, as well as all the printed copies he could procure ; while the latter has since made a research through upwards of four hundred, of which several are

* Prospectus, p. 15.

of the seventh and eighth centuries, and therefore probably prior to the institution of the *Mafora*, and has ranfacked a considerable number of rare and unnoticed editions*.

Our author deduces his two next sources of emendation from a comparifon of the parallel places of the text itfelf, as in thofe paffages of Scripture in which the fame precept is iterated, the fame historic fact repeated, or the fame canticle, pfalm, or prophecy, entirely or partially re-inferred; and from the quotations made at different times from the original Scripture-text, whether by Jewifh or Chriftian writers, efpecially where they have not the appearance of being introduced from memory alone.

* A collation of all the manufcript copies of the moft ancient Greek verfions has been undertaken fince this period, by Dr. Holmes, of Oxford; and it cannot be in better hands. A fimilar collation of the Syrian verfions is ftill wanting. The very valuable work of De Roffi has been fince completed. It was finifhed in the year 1787, in four volumes, about a twelvemonth after the publication of this *Proſpectus*. The firft volume, befides a fenfible preface, canons, and clavis or catalogue of the MSS. ufed by the author, contains various readings on *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Leviticus*: the fecond carries them to the end of *Kings*: the third comprises the *Prophets* and *Megilloth*: and the fourth includes the remainder of the facred writings.

“ Another most copious source of emendation of the Hebrew text, are the translations that have been made of it, at different periods, and in different languages ; which, while they serve in general to evidence its authenticity, enable us at the same time to correct, or even restore, many particular passages, that are now either entirely lost or strangely corrupted : an advantage which belongs not, in the same degree, to any other ancient writing *.”

The Septuagint here occupies his first notice, of which he gives a full and entertaining history with respect to its origin, its progress, and, till nearly the end of the first century of the Christian æra, its authority both among Jews and Christians. He next adverts to the Greek manuscript translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, as well as those which followed, and are generally known by the denomination of the fifth, sixth, and seventh versions, from the order in which they were communicated to the world. Of none of these have we any thing more left than a few scattered fragments; while the very names and chronology of the authors of the three latter have been long consigned to oblivion ; though it is suspected by many critics, and was intended to

* Prospectus, p. 22.

have been proved by our author, had his life been sufficiently elongated, that the sixth of these versions, in the order of time, is nothing more than an interpolated edition of the Septuagint by some commentator of the Christian church*. The edition of Aquila of Pontus, who was first a convert from Paganism to Christianity, and then a profelyte to Judaism, appeared about the year 129; and was designed by his Jewish brethren to supersede the Septuagint, which they now began to discover, from the use which was made of it by the Christian fathers, to be more favourable to the Christian cause than the original Hebrew; and which is, indeed, suspected by our author to display in some instances a bent of this kind, from a mistaken zeal, so as to make it speak more explicitly the language of Christianity. From the fragments that now remain of Aquila, he determines him to have been an uncouth and barbarous writer—the Arias Montanus or Malvenda of his day. His more strict adherence, however, to the Hebrew letter would render him singularly useful in discovering the state of its text at that time, and might afford us the literal meaning and etymology of many words, whose signification it

* This intention he has noticed in his *Prospectus*, p. 29.

is now difficult to ascertain. On this account it is assuredly to be regretted, that we have no copy of his translation extant.

The version of Theodotion, who had been first a disciple of Tatian, then a Marcionite, and lastly a Jew, was published about the year 184. It was little more than a new edition of the Septuagint or Alexandrian, altering, adding, or retrenching wherever he found the latter differ from such Hebrew manuscripts as the Jews put into his hands; and it seems to have risen into notice alone from the obscurity and fervility of the version of Aquila. In consequence of its greater resemblance to the Septuagint, the Christians themselves became in some degree attached to it, and hence we have larger portions of it preserved than of Aquila's labours.

Symmachus, according to Eusebius, was first a Samaritan, next a Jew, then a Christian, and lastly an Ebionite. The Greek version of this translator appeared about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. It was less literal, but far more elegant, than either of the former, and afforded St. Jerom the model of his Latin transcript. Being principally composed, however, for the use of the members of his own communion, who were equally abhorrent to both

Jews and Christians, it is by no means wonderful that it has perished, with an almost total annihilation.

I ought not here to omit noticing the learned and well applied labors of Origen, who, with indefatigable zeal, endeavoured to restore to the public the whole of these Greek translations, in four successive works, denominated, from the number of columns they contained, Tetrapla, Hexapla, Octapla, and Enneapla. Of these the first gave the versions of the Septuagint, Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus alone; while the last, extending to nine columns, added the three anonymous translations, the original Hebrew text, and its mode of pronunciation in Greek characters. Not satisfied, however, with being a compiler, the learned father aimed at being a corrector of the Septuagint text; which at length became so patched and pieced with passages from the latter versions, and particularly that of Theodotion, as to resemble the copies of the Vulgate of the present day, which have passed through the Mosaic manufactory of Clarius, and some other moderns. In the hands of so skilful an artist as Origen, we should have had little, however, to fear from such a practice; and were we now in possession of his autograph, or of an immacu-

late copy, it would be of inestimable advantage to the biblical student. But the great authority of Origen made every one who was possessed of a Greek bible revise his text by the Hexaplar standard; till in a short period there was scarcely a manuscript to be met with that was not bristled over with asterisks and obelisks, lemnisks and hypolemnisks without number: which again from the carelessness of ignorant transcribers, or the caprice of conceited correctors, became at length so varied and confused as to set all restoration at defiance. Following, moreover, the example of Origen, other critics, and most if not all of them far less capable than himself, attempted to give new corrections to the Septuagint. Of these the principal were Lucianus and Hesychius; the former of whom produced an exemplar which was uniformly adopted by all the churches from Antioch to Constantinople; and the latter, emendations which were received with equal authority at Alexandria, and throughout the whole of Egypt; while the Christians of Palestine adhered pertinaciously to the copy of the Hexapla of Origen, furnished them by Pamphilus, one of his most celebrated editors; and which seems, indeed, to have generally prevailed through all the East.

From which of these copies, or editions, the

particular manuscripts now extant in different parts of the world are derived, and what manuscript deviates least from the Alexandrian or original version, it is impossible to determine until the manuscripts themselves be collated and compared. We know not at present whether there be a single copy of any one of these various editions existing in its pristine purity. The transcript of the Septuagint by Origen, however, together with the other Greek versions that composed his Tetrapla, might be sufficiently restored for the purposes of collation, by a scholar of moderate enterprise and fortune; since a Syriac version of it containing the Prophets and Agiographa—in reality its entire contents excepting the Pentateuch—is preserved in the Ambrosian library at Milan. Our author intimates in a note, that there were at the time of writing his Prospectus, great hopes that this version, through the medium of M. Norberg, might be speedily communicated to the public. But the situation of Europe has since been very unfavorable to the cultivation of literature of every kind; and though seventeen years have elapsed since these hopes were expressed, I cannot find that we are nearer the possession of a transcript from the Ambrosian volume, than we were at the moment they were first indulged. This, in conjunction with the Arabic version of the Pentateuch of Origen,

from the Bodleian library, would professor White turn from the more fashionable and alluring pursuit of the history of Egypt to such an undertaking, could not but be of incalculable advantage to the critical biblicist.

Of the Greek version in common use, our author proceeds to inform us that we have four different edited exemplars; that of Alcala, or the Complutenfian, printed in 1515, with a most precise and perplexing typothesis in the Polyglott Bible of Ximenes: that of Venice, first published in 1518 by the heirs of Aldus, and hence denominated the Aldine edition: that of Rome, which made its appearance in 1588, and to which Nobilius adjoined a Latin version: and that of Oxford, more important perhaps than any of the others, which was printed from the celebrated Septuagint manuscript in the Museum, of at least equal antiquity with, and in some respects more valuable than, that of the Vatican; which last his late holiness intended to have had republished, and would have accomplished before his decease, had not the invasion and intestine commotions of Italy prevented him. The Oxford edition was prepared for the press by Gratz—who actually published the first and fourth volumes of the work at the press of this celebrated university in the years 1707 and 1709, leaving the third and

fourth inedited ; which were nevertheless afterwards brought forward in 1719 and 1720, by Lee and Shippen, with the assistance of bishop Potter. Of all these versions different impressions have been given to the world in different places, which are distinctly noticed by our author, but need not be repeated in this abstract.

He now proceeds to a consideration of the assistance to be derived from the various readings already collated ; of which the greater part are crowded together in the lower margin of Bos's edition---but which are not of extreme value ; and of the different manuscripts of which few general and continued collations have yet been made. Of these, however, he enumerates the most important, and adds, that at the time of writing he himself was actually employed in collating a valuable and well-preserved octateuch belonging to the university of Glasgow : “ a particular account of which,” continues he, “ shall in due time be given to the public.” Alas ! that time will never arrive ! Attention to his own version, mental vexation, and a long series of corporeal pain, prevented the accomplishment of so laudable an object, and he died without having added to the progress alluded to in this passage.

The Septuagint afforded a great variety of translations. Of these we have still, either in part or

whole, in print or manuscript, the Latin-Italic, the Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Arabic, Armenian and Coptic; of all which the first was the most celebrated in its day; and the last, in consequence of its high antiquity and verbal adherence to its text, is the most valuable at present.

Our author next proceeds to appreciate the other versions from the original Hebrew of which we have any account, or, at least, whence any valuable knowledge can be attained. At the head of these he places the Syriac, which he admits to be of very high antiquity, although he pays no attention to the tradition which transfers it to the reign of Solomon. To the Syriac he adds the Chaldee versions and paraphrases; particularly those of Onkelos and Jonathan, (the former of whom, however, translated the Pentateuch alone,) the Arabic versions of Saadiah, Erpenius, and especially a manuscript translation from the Samaritan Pentateuch, of which a specimen from the Barbarini triglot was published by Hwuid in 1780; and then advances to an historical detail of the Vulgate, the admirable production of St. Jerom, of which I have already given an ample account in page 13, &c. It should be stated, however, that the edition now known by the name of the Vulgate is not the genuine and unsophisticated version of St. Jerom, but a medley

containing the greater part of his labours united to certain portions of the Italic, and a variety of corrections from Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, as well as the Masoretic Hebrew.

“It has undergone many corrections and alterations at different periods. Towards the end of the eighth century it was revised by Alcuin at the desire of Charlemagne. In the twelfth it was, with the assistance of some Jews, made more conformable to the Hebrew by Stephen abbot of Cîteaux*. It was again, in the next age, corrected with great care and labour by the French Dominicans; and enriched with a number of various readings, not only from Latin manuscripts, but also from the Hebrew and Greek copies†. This most useful work, by that conjunctive and subordinate industry that distinguishes religious societies, was soon multiplied or abridged over all the order; and was considered as a sort of canon to correct other manuscripts by.

“Whether they, who gave the first printed edi-

* Cistercium.

† The autograph of this *correctorium* is to be seen in the library of the Dominicans, *ruë St. Jaques*, Paris. A good account of it is given by Fabricy (*Titres primitifs*, tom. II. p. 132.) It is to be regretted that the project of making a fair copy of it, formed in 1749, did not take place; though it is not doubted but it will be resumed and executed in the best manner.

tion at Mayence in the year 1462, used it; or what manuscript served them for an archetype, it is not known. One thing is certain; the first printed editions are extremely faulty. That which was published in the year 1515, in the Complutensian polyglott, is more correct than any that preceded it; but as the corrections were not always made on the authority of manuscripts, and as the editors have not told us what other sources they drew from, we read it with doubt and distrust. The first who gave a good copy of the Vulgate was the celebrated Robert Stevens. All his editions are correct and beautiful; but that of 1540 is superlatively so. It was made from fourteen described manuscripts, and the three principal printed editions of Mayence, Basil and Alcala. It was republished with some alterations by Hentennius in 1547, with various readings from thirty manuscripts, which are accurately described. Hentennius's edition was improved by Lucas Brugensis; and published, with his long promised annotations, in 1580; and again, more splendidly, in 1583*.

“Seventeen years were now elapsed since the council of Trent had decreed the Vulgate to be an authentic copy of Scripture; and ordered it to

* Of the same year, there is an elegant and commodious edition of it in small octavo. Both are by Plantin.

be henceforth (exclusively of all other Latin versions) universally used and appealed to. The charge of having it carefully corrected, and accurately printed, was committed to the Roman pontiff; but little had been done during the troublesome reigns of Pius IV. and Pius V.; so that Sixtus V., who was born for great things, had the honour of executing the great commission. He had already, as has been said, given an excellent edition of the Greek version of the Septuagint, in 1587; and he now gave, in 1590*, the first entire Latin Bible that was published by papal authority.

“But neither papal authority itself, nor the anathemas denounced against those who should presume to alter the smallest particle of it, could procure it a long duration. The imperious and unpopular Sixtus was hardly cold in his grave, when the copies of his edition were called in and suppressed†; and a new one, with above two thousand alterations, was published, in 1592, by Clement VIII., of which all the other editions, that have since been made, are literal copies‡.”

* The bull of publication is dated in 1589, but the book was not made public till the year after.

† It was pretended that Sixtus himself had resolved on the suppression; but of this there is no proof, and little probability.

‡ “When I say *literal* copies, I do not mean that there have been no changes made in the Vulgate, since the Clementine edition. It is well known that many little corrections, and

A third source of emendation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament our author derives from its quotations scattered throughout the New. These however, he observes, must be used with great circumspection, since they are cited in a different language, and not always from the original, but frequently the Septuagint or some other early version; and are occasionally quoted in so vague a manner, that we are at a loss to know whence they were taken, or whether they be meant as strict quotations or simple inferences. Under this head, he speaks with high encomium of the labors of Dr. Randolph, who published an accurate collection of them in 1782, at Oxford, together with the Hebrew text, the Septuagint version, and a considerable body of learned annotations.

After the Sacred Scriptures themselves, in their various versions and editions, our author places the works of Philo and Josephus, the two principal Jewish writers of antiquity, as sources of occasional correction. Since the former, however, was a Hellenist of Alexandria, and probably therefore quoted only from the Septuagint translation; he prefers the latter, who was of Hebrew
 amendments that had been pointed out by Bellarmine and others, have from time to time been admitted, even into the Vatican impressions; and thence have found their way into most other posterior editions."

origin, and has given us a continued history of the Jews, extracted from the Hebrew copies of their own canonical books, and at first partly written by himself in the Hebrew language.

“In fine,” adds the author of the *Prospectus*, “when the corruptions of the text cannot be removed either by the collation of manuscripts, or the aid of versions, internal analogy or external testimony, the last resource is conjectural criticism.” This mode of correction is, I admit, the most dangerous of any, and requires, whenever allowed, a mind chastised from every bias,—a judgment severely accurate and sober. And, notwithstanding the very valuable canons which, under this head, Dr. Geddes advances for the regulation of his own conduct and that of future biblicists, I will here freely acknowledge that I think he has occasionally, in his own version, indulged in conjectural criticisms somewhat too frequently, and pressed them in some instances too far. But of this, more as we proceed.

Yet the corruptions of the text, as our author observes, are not the sole difficulty a translator has to surmount. To ascertain the true meaning, is often as arduous as to ascertain the true reading. This he instances as being particularly the case in all Hebrew writings, from the very nature of the language itself, and more especially when com-

bined with the absurd system of illustrating and perpetuating it, invented by the Masorites. To remedy this inconvenience, a full knowledge of the Hebrew language by long analytical and comparative study is of prime necessity; next to which, as already remarked, a careful and associated perusal of the ancient versions; and lastly, of those of more modern times, whether Latin or vernacular, which have appeared since the revival of letters.

Of these last we have a copious account, commencing with the Latin, and comprehending that of Santes Pagninus, first printed at Florence in 1528*, the model, indeed, of almost all the rest; that of Munster, which appeared about the year 1534; that of Leo-Juda, commonly called the Trigurine Bible because published by the divines of Zurich, the first edition of which is dated 1543; that of Castalio, highly prized, as I have already observed, by our author, and of which the best edition was printed at Basil in 1573: and that of Junius and Tremellius, containing the Old Testament alone, of the date of 1575; to all the subsequent editions of which was added Beza's translation of the New Testament. Independently of these, he pays particular attention to the Latin versions of cardi-

* Republished at Leipzig with the Hebrew text in two vols. 4to, 1740.

nal de Vio Cajetan, published, though incomplete, at Lyons in 1639; of Malvenda, a Spanish Dominican, published at the same place in 1650, but extending only as far as Ezekiel; of Sebastian Schmidt, printed at Strasburg in 1696, after having been on the anvil nearly forty years; of John Le Clerc, published complete at Amsterdam in 1731; and, though last not least, of the truly erudite Houbigant, who died only three years prior to the publication of this Prospectus, and of whose amiable and facetious manners, and occasional paroxysms of abstraction from "this visible diurnal sphere," when more profoundly engaged in his critical elucidations, I have heard many anecdotes from several learned Parisian emigrants who were intimately acquainted with him. The version of Houbigant, accompanied with the Hebrew text of Vanderhooght, his prolegomena, and critical notes, was published in the most splendid manner at Paris, between the years 1747 and 1753, in four volumes folio, and is already become a rare and costly book*.

To these more celebrated translators our au-

* The elegant and admirable Latin version of the whole of the Old Testament, in 5 vols. 8vo, by M. Dathe, professor at Leipzig, had not at this time made its appearance. It was published in 1790, and has since been succeeded by a translation of the New Testament.

thor adds the names of a variety of scholars of less repute, and who have individually given not more than versions of some particular book, or even portions of a book. After which, he recapitulates the modern vernacular translations, which “are all cast,” says he, “as it were in the same mold; all scrupulously literal versions of the same faulty originals, and, almost always, under the guidance of Pagninus.”

Of these, the first in order of time is that of Luther, printed in the German tongue, and published in parts, between the years 1522 and 1533, and of which a more correct edition, carefully revised by himself, with the assistance of some of the most learned men of the age, appeared in 1542; as also a third just before his death in 1545. Luther's version, translated into their respective tongues, and with occasional alterations, was the only one in use for nearly a century among the Belgic and other northern churches; till, in consequence of a decree of the synod of Dort, the States General of Holland ordered a new Dutch translation to be made from the originals, which was published in the year 1636. From the Dutch and German our author proceeds to notice the Danish version, published by Resenius, bishop of Seelandt, in 1607, under the patronage of Christian IV., and the very modern and valuable trans-

lation into Swedish ; after which he immediately adverts to the different French exemplars of most celebrity: particularly those of Olivetan, assisted by Calvin, published at Neufchatel in 1535 ; of Diodati, published at Geneva in 1644 ; and of Le Cene, which appeared, upon a more original plan, in 1707, but did not meet with the reception the translator expected *. From the French he passes to the Italian versions, of which, however, he enumerates but two ; that of Bruccioli, (said to be deduced from the originals, but which is little more than a version of Pagninus,) first published at Venice in 1532, and afterwards improved and re-edited by Rusticius at Geneva in 1562 ; and that of Diodati, published at the same place in 1607 : to which our learned critic ascribes a very considerable preference.

He proceeds in his biblical excursion to Spain. "Although the Spanish," says he, "be, perhaps, of all the European tongues, that in which the Scriptures would appear in their greatest dignity ;

* Our author has here forgotten to notice the synodic version of the Genevese church, published in one large volume 4to, in 1693, by Sam. de Tournes. "Le tout reveu," says the title-page, "et conferé sur les textes Hébreux et Grecs par les pasteurs et les professeurs de l'Eglise de Geneve."—It is the copy generally adopted in the present day ; but the revisions of the worthy pastors, who edited it, have produced few important variations from the version of Diodati.

we have, as yet, no Spanish version of them that deserves much notice. Those made by the Jews are barbarous beyond conception, and that of De Reyna, with all De Valera's improvements, is little more than a servile version from the Latin of Pagninus and Leo-Juda." I have attended with some degree of accuracy, as well to this, as to the version published by the Jews in 1553 at Ferrara, and cannot avoid thinking that the condemnation in both these instances is by far too severe. The version of Cassiodoro de Reyna, which was published in 1569, exhibits a degree of freedom and elegance, without deviating from the spirit of the original, to which Pagninus has no pretensions: and although that of the Jews be not equally elegant, it is a bold and unshackled interpreter of the original, and affords a different and in many instances, if I mistake not, a more correct version of particular parts than the generality of vernacular translations. It was certainly composed with a careful attention to many of the best manuscripts, for it has occasionally borrowed from them; and as a further proof of its generally esteemed merit in its day, it not only obtained the sanction of the duke of Ferrara, but was re-edited shortly afterwards at Amsterdam by Gillis Joost.

I completely agree with our learned critic, ne-

vertheless, that by far the best translator of the sacred records among the Spaniards was F. Luis de Leon, an Augustinian friar, and interpreter of the Scripture in the university of Salamanca. "I know not," says he, speaking of his translation of the book of Job, "if there be, in any language, a version, that to the strictest fidelity joins so much elegance, precision and perspicuity." Luis de Leon, however, unfortunately for his countrymen, translated nothing more than the book of Job, edited posthumously at Madrid in 1779; and the Song of Solomon, wrenched from him by his friends, and published in his life time, but without his knowledge, towards the close of the seventeenth century; "for which," says our author, "he suffered five years imprisonment in the dark and inaccessible dungeons of the Inquisition." There must, however, I think, have been some other cause for so severe a sentence, than the mere translation of the Song of Songs: for both the versions of the Bible I have just adverted to contain it without the suppression of a single verse, although they were each of them submitted to the court of Inquisition for examination, and published with its express permission: "*vista y examinada per el officio de la Inquisicion*," says that of Ferrara in its very title-page. I have stated, that this latter appears to have been studiously com-

pared, in its progress, with many valuable manuscripts, and occasionally to have adopted their text: and without detaining the reader by a useless enumeration of instances, I will only refer him to one or two in the book before us. In the common copies of the Song of Songs, vi. 12. we meet with the expression, “as the chariots (עֲמִינִדִּיב) of Aminadib;” but in several of the manuscripts this last term is divided into two, עֲמִי נִדִּיב which alters the phrase to “the chariots of my willing people:” and such, evidently from manuscript authority alone, is the interpretation given in the Ferrara version. No se, mi-alma me puso quatre quas de *pueblo voluntarioso*. In ver. 13 of the same chapter we meet with another deviation from almost all the versions, in which the word מַחֲלָה is translated “conflict,” e. g. “as the conflict of two armies.” מַחֲלָה equally signifies, however, “a rushing together or encounter (contre-dance) of a company of dancers,” and is therefore rendered in the same edition, “como danza de los reales.” I do not notice these deviations from the common interpretation, as approving of either; although they have been adopted by several of the first biblical critics of our own country; but as merely manifesting a laudable extent of research, and independency of spirit in translating.

Our author next advances to the catalogue of English Bibles, respecting which, as an ample history has already been given by Lewis, and since by archbishop Newcome, from the former of which writers the abstract of Dr. Geddes is for the most part borrowed, it is scarcely necessary to do more in this place than to enumerate them. The oldest complete edition is that of Tyndal and Coverdale: the first of whom translated from Genesis to the end of Chronicles, the book of Jonah, and the whole of the New Testament; while the last extended his labours to the rest of the English Scriptures, so as to make the version complete. It was printed in 1537, and known by the name of Matthew's Bible. Cranmer's *great* Bible, and all the others published during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., are only improved copies of Tyndal's; with a few additions in some of them from the Greek or the Latin Vulgate. In the time of Mary, the English refugees at Geneva introduced a new version, apparently from the French of Olivetan as revised by Calvin and Beza: it was accompanied with notes by the latter, and hence obtained his name. It became the favourite version of the puritan party, and went through many editions during the reigns of Elizabeth and James; though, having been produced by persons obnoxious to the episcopalians, it was

never received as a public standard. In 1586 was published Parker's or the Bishops' Bible, which was appointed to be read in churches as Cranmer's had been before. It was objected to this version, though for the most part wrongfully, that it deviated too much from the original in favor of the Greek and Latin copies. The objection however prevailed, and it was soon superseded by the present standard, which was projected on the accession of James to the throne of England, and finished in the space of three or four years afterwards; although it was not published till 1611; when, by his majesty's special command, it was appointed to be read in churches, and has continued ever since to be the public authorized version.

“ The means and the method employed to produce this translation promised something extremely satisfactory; and great expectations were formed from the united abilities of so many learned men selected for the purpose, and excited to emulation by the encouragement of a munificent prince, who had declared himself the patron of the work. Accordingly, the highest eulogiums have been made on it, both by our own writers and by foreigners; and, indeed, if accuracy, fidelity, and the strictest attention to the letter of the text, be supposed to constitute the qualities of an excellent

version, this of all versions must, in general, be accounted the most excellent. Every sentence, every word, every syllable, every letter and point, seem to have been weighed with the nicest exactitude, and expressed, either in the text or margin, with the greatest precision. Pagninus himself is hardly more literal; and it was well remarked by Robertson, above a hundred years ago, that it may serve for a lexicon of the Hebrew language, as well as for a translation.

“It is, however, confessedly not without its faults. Beside those that are common to it with every version of that age, arising from faulty originals and Masoretic prepossessions, its own intrinsic and peculiar blemishes appear to be the following.

“First, from a superstitious attention to render the Hebrew and Greek into literal English, its authors adopted modes of expression which are abhorrent from the English idiom; and, perhaps, from that of all other modern tongues. Our ears, indeed, are now accustomed to this phraseology; and the language is become familiar to us, by being the language of the national religion: but a proof that many of those expressions are neither natural nor analogous, is, that they have never yet been able to force their way into common usage, even in conversation; and he who shall employ them would be supposed to jeer at Scripture, or to af-

fect the language of fanaticism. In short, what Selden said of it is strictly true: 'It is rather translated into English words than into English phrase.' From the same cause, it is, in many places, obscure and ambiguous, where a small variation in the arrangement of the words would have made it clear and unequivocal.

"Secondly, there is a manifest want of uniformity in the mode of translating. This was, indeed, unavoidable. The different parts of the Bible were assigned to so many different persons, or at least to so many different *quorums*; and although the whole was ultimately committed to the revision of six persons assembled for the purpose, it does not appear that they made any great change in its first texture. When we consider, that they were only nine months about this revision, we cannot well look for a rigorous examination of the fidelity of the version; much less, for a reduction of its style to the same color and complexion. The books called *Apocrypha* are, in general, I think, better translated than the rest of the Bible; for which one reason may be, that the translators of them were not cramped by the fetters of the Masora.

"Thirdly, king James's translators mistook the true meaning of a great many words and sentences, by depending too much on modern lexicons, and by paying too little attention to the an-

cient versions.' Many of those mistranslations have been noted and rectified by different commentators, but many still remain unnoticed, and seem to cry for amendment.

"Fourthly, in compliance with a novel opinion, that not a word nor particle should be in a vernacular version, that has not another word and particle, exactly corresponding with it, in the Hebrew; and, at the same time, to prevent an obscurity, which would be the necessary consequence of that mode of translating; perhaps, also, to obviate the reproaches of want of fidelity, that had been thrown out against the Bishops' Bible, both by the catholics and the puritans; they encumbered their version with a load of useless Italics; often without the least necessity, and almost always to the detriment of the text. In fact, either the words in Italics are virtually implied in the Hebrew, or they are not. In the former case they are a real part of the text, and should be printed in the same character: in the latter, they are generally ill assorted and clumsy ekes, that may well be spared; and which often disfigure the narration under pretence of connecting it.

"Fifthly, king James's translators, like all the translators of their day, were too much guided by theological system; and seem, on some occa-

fions, to have allowed their religious prejudices to have gotten the better of their judgment. To point out examples would be an invidious task ; but it is extremely proper that every translator should have them constantly in view, as so many cautionary mementos to himself.

“In fine, through the constant fluctuation and progress of living languages, there are many words and phrases, in the vulgar version, now become obsolete ; a specimen of which may be seen in Pilkington’s judicious *Remarks*, published at Cambridge in 1759. The construction, too, is frequently less grammatical than the present state of our language seems to require : and the arrangement of words and sentences is often such as produces obscurity or ambiguity.”

Our author now hastily glances at a variety of private English versions, either of the whole or of distinct parts, of the Sacred Scriptures which have appeared since this æra. Among these we find the names of Gell and Canne, who merely planned and commenced, but did not publish their respective translations : Ainsworth, who translated the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Song of Solomon : Julius Bate, whose version of the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and the four books of Kings, was published posthumously, with obvious marks of his having despised the Rabbinical, but

admired the *Hutchinsonian Cabbala*: Anthony Purver, who gave to the public in 1764 his *New and literal Translation of all the Books of the Old and New Testament, with Notes critical and explanatory*; which is said to have been the work of thirty years; and, although a rude and incondite mass, carries with it undeniable proofs of much reading and labor: Mr. Lookup, who published in 1740 a translation of the book of Genesis, and dedicated it to the archbishop of Canterbury: Abraham Dawson, who translated not more than the five first chapters of the same book, the three first of which were published in 1763, with marginal illustrations and critical notes: and Mr. Green, of Cambridge, who gave the public his new translation of the Psalms in 1762; and the poetic parts of the Old Testament in 1781; of whom our author speaks handsomely, while he regrets his undue attachment to the Harian system of Hebrew metre.

“ Still a model was wanting that should claim every suffrage, and merit universal applause. Need I inform my intelligent reader that such a model at length appeared in the year 1779; when bishop Lowth favored the public with his new translation of *Isaiah*? Never did sacred criticism appear with greater dignity than in this invaluable work. Never were the gentleman, the scho-

lar, the grammarian and the theologue more happily united.

“ So rare an example, set by such a character, could not fail to be copied. Mr. Benjamin Blayney, rector of Polshott in Wilts, has lately published a translation of Jeremiah, on the same plan; and with great success. I trust he is now employed in some other similar work.

“ On the same plan bishop Newcome is laboring on the Minor Prophets; and great expectations are justly formed, from his well known abilities and acumen.

“ Mr. Hopkins, vicar of Bolney, has given a corrected edition of the vulgar version of the book of Exodus; in which he has judiciously inserted the Samaritan and Septuagint supplements—when he had reason to think them genuine. His notes are short, but generally apposite. May neither ‘age nor infirmity’ prevent him from ‘prosecuting such useful studies!’

“ We have several English translations of the Song of Solomon; some in verse and some in prose; and most of them have considerable merit *. We have, likewise, poetical versions of

* “ Particularly an anonymous one, printed for Millar 1751; and that of Dr. Hodgson, just now published.” Our author has forgotten to enumerate another anonymous translation of the same book, most admirably executed, and enriched

Job, the Psalms, and other detached parts of Scripture; which may be occasionally useful to a prose-translator: and there are a number of particular passages throughout the whole Bible, well rendered and explained, in various critical Commentaries, Essays, Lectures and Sermons; of which a general collection would be of great utility.

“Of the New Testament, besides the version already mentioned, of 1729, we have, since that, three complete new translations by Wynne, Worley and Harwood; two of St. Matthew by Scott and Wakefield; and we soon expect, from the pen of Dr. Campbell, a capital work on the four Gospels. But of all these I shall have occasion to speak more at large in proper time and place.

“A society lately formed for *promoting the knowledge of the Scriptures* have already published some *numbers of Commentaries and Essays*; in which, among other things, they propose to give ‘an accurate translation of the passage to be explained, with proper divisions into paragraphs and sentences, and pointed with the utmost correctness.’ We applaud the plan, and heartily wish

with a commentary, and annotations; printed for Doddsley in 1764, and supposed to be the work of Dr. Percy, the present bishop of Dromore.

them success: may we take the liberty to beg of them, to beware of system*?

“From the above review of the principal versions made by protestants, it will, I presume, appear, that their chief and peculiar imperfection is owing to the translators having followed too implicitly the Masoretic text, and paid too little regard to the ancient versions. Let us next see what are the special defects of the translations that have been made by catholics.”

The number of these, our author observes, is comparatively but small, an idea having long prevailed that the Scripture should not be translated into vulgar tongues. He traces the source of this idea—examines the states in which it became most predominant—the causes of such predominancy—and its inconsistency with reason, religion, sound policy, and the practice of better ages.

“I have seen,” says he, “but four French translations made from the Latin: that of Louvain, that of Benoit, that of Corbin, and that of Saçi. The first two are little more than the Geneva version accommodated to the Vulgate: the third is beneath criticism: the last is an elegant, secondary, version; and has, with very little variation, been a

* The numbers, at first published separately by this society, have been so multiplied since the period here referred to, as to fill at present two volumes 8vo. They are sold, if I mistake not, by Johnson, St. Paul's church-yard.

text-book to all the French commentators for a century past. It appears, however, to be too much a paraphrase; and seldom retains the simplicity and dignity even of the Vulgate version.

“ Until the year 1750, the German catholics had no tolerable version of the Bible. That of Dietsenbergh is a bad transcript, or rather miserable interpolation, of Luther’s; and Ulenberg’s is disgustingly literal and obscure. But, at the fore-mentioned period, a new translation was published by the Benedictines of Ettenheim-Munster, under the direction of F. Cartier, which is, I think, the best translation from the Vulgate that has yet been made. The reason is obvious: the authors had recourse to the originals, in all dubious cases; and did not strictly adhere to the letter of their text.

“ The Flemings have two tolerable versions, the one by De Witt, and the other by Vander-Schueren: but the French language has, for some time past, been so much cultivated by them, that Saçi’s Bible is almost as frequently to be met with in the French Netherlands as in France itself.

“ There are two or three old Italian translations made from the Vulgate; or adapted to it, from Pagninus’s Latin version: but they have not been reprinted for many years back; and have, in reality, little to recommend them. I have not seen

Martini's recent version, but I am informed it is very elegant.

“ In Spain there is not, I believe, at this day a single edited version of the whole Bible. That which was printed in 1516 was so totally destroyed, that hardly a copy of it is to be found. Some particular books have been lately published; and it is not to be doubted that the rest will soon follow. The torch of learning is but newly lighted up in that ingenious nation: but, if we are not greatly mistaken, it will soon break forth into a blaze of uncommon splendor.

“ Our Saxon ancestors had vernacular versions of the Scripture as early as the reign of Alfred, who is, himself, said to have been one of the translators. Some parts of Aelfric's version of the Old Testament were published by Thwaites in 1698. And we have two different editions of a Saxon New Testament. All these were made from the Vulgate. Hampole, Wiclif and Perry translated also from the Latin; though, in some of their versions, they noted the differences of the Hebrew and Greek, from St. Jerom, Bede and De Lyra.

“ From the days of Wiclif there was no version made from the Vulgate until the year 1582; when the English catholics, who had, in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, taken refuge

in Flanders, and were now removed to Reims on account of the war, published a translation of the New Testament only, in one quarto volume. The publication of the Old did not take place till after their return to Douay in 1609*. Hence the whole version, which is in three volumes, is known by the name of the Douay Bible. It is a literal and barbarous translation from the Vulgate, before its last revision; and accompanied with acrimonious and injurious annotations. Their residence in a foreign country, and what they deemed a cruel exile from their own, had corrupted the translators' language, and soured their tempers; and it was, unhappily, the common custom of those lamentable times, to season every religious controversy with gall and vinegar. We do not find that Withers, Fulke and Cartwright, who drew their quills against the Douay annotators, were a bit more courteous in their retorts.

* Wicliff's translation of the New Testament was published by Lewis, in folio, in 1731. His press-copy was collated with ten MSS. the principal various readings of which are marked in the margin. Beside the manuscripts of Wicliff's version, at Cambridge, Oxford, and in the British Museum, there is a beautiful copy of the New Testament in the Advocates Library at Edinburgh; and one of the Seven Catholic Epistles in the University Library of Glasgow.

“ The late most pious Dr. Chaloner revised the Douay version, on the Clementine edition of the Vulgate ; greatly curtailed the annotations ; and corrected the style, chiefly from king James’s translation. There are two editions of this revision ; one in the year 1750, and the other in 1764 ; both in five volumes, small octavo. I am told another edition is preparing by the gentlemen of the English college at Douay ; and proposals for republishing it at Dublin, in one quarto volume, are now handed about in London.

“ Mr. Caryl, a gentleman who had followed the fortune of king James II., published at St. Germain’s a new version of the Psalms in 1700 ; in which, taking Bellarmine for his guide, he has often expressed the meaning of the Vulgate much better than the Douay translators.

“ In 1719 Dr. Cornelius Nary published his New Testament at Dublin, in one volume octavo ; and Dr. Witham’s appeared in 1730, in two volumes octavo. There are many good renderings in both these versions.

“ Mr. W. Webster, curate of St. Dunstan’s in the West, translated the New Testament from the Vulgate, through the medium of F. Simon’s French version, and published it at London, in two volumes in quarto, in 1730.

“ I have in my possession a manuscript New

Testament prepared for the press, by the late Mr. Robert Gordon, of the Scotch college at Paris; in which some considerable mistranslations of all the preceding versions are noted and rectified.

“ But although the catholics, in general, have made their vernacular versions of the Bible from the Vulgate; they have not done so without exception. Two of the forementioned Italian translations are professedly made from the originals. In France, besides Codurc’s version of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon, we find a translation of the Psalms by Rodolphe le Maitre; another by Isaac le Maitre, and another by Dupin; all made from the Hebrew in the last century: not to mention two complete manuscript versions of the whole Bible; one by Dom. Lubineau, a Benedictine monk; and the other by F. Feraud of the Oratory.

“ In the year 1737 a new version of the Psalms was published by Dom. Maur d’Antine; and in 1739 appeared Le Gros’s first edition of *The Holy Bible translated from the original Texts, with the various Readings of the Vulgate, &c.* printed on a very small type, and in one thick octavo volume. It was republished, with the author’s last corrections, at Cologne, in 1753, in six volumes in twelves. In this translation the additions of the Vulgate are inserted in the same characters with

the text ; but within crotchets. What is added from other ancient versions is also within crotchets, but in Italics ; and the supplements, deemed necessary to correct or illustrate the text, are in Italics, without crotchets.

“ About the middle of this century a school of Capuchins was formed at Paris, under the direction of abbé de Villefroï, for the laudable purpose of elucidating the original Scriptures. The popes Benedict XIV. and Clement XIII. were so well pleased with the design, that they both testified their approbation by special briefs ; and the latter honored the little society with the title of *Clementine*. Besides an elegant translation of the Psalms, and some other books of the Old Testament, they have already published a great many volumes of *Principes discutés*, in which there is much ingenuity and considerable erudition : but a strong tincture of rabbinism imbibed from their master, and a violent attachment to a specious but delusive and dangerous system of interpretation, have often led them aside from the right road, and exposed them to the too severe though just animadversions of more rational critics.

“ We have also a curious and fanciful French version of the Psalms from the Hebrew by Laugéois ; in which, although he has certainly taken by far too great liberties with his original, and

given novel and arbitrary significations to a number of Hebrew words, there are, nevertheless, many elegant and some uncommonly happy renderings.

“The amiable and pious author of *Spetacle de la Nature* left behind him a French version of the Psalms, and some other small portions of Scripture, which, though professedly made from the Vulgate, has a constant allusion to the Hebrew, and contains some valuable elucidations, especially in the notes.

“The abbé du Contant de la Motte has, since the year 1777, published the following works on the Holy Scripture: *La Genèse Expliquée*, 3 vol. 12mo. *L'Exode Expliqué*, 3 vol. *Le Levitique Expliqué*, 2 vol. *Les Pseaumes Expliqués*, 3 vol. In all which works, though he has retained Calmet's version made from the Vulgate, he is continually correcting it either by the Hebrew text, or by the other ancient versions; and so far his work may be accounted a translation from the originals. The Journal des Sçavans of last year announces two new French versions of the Psalms; one in eight volumes, 12mo. by Berthier, the other in two volumes, by Bauduer, both said to be estimable works; and of which the latter is immediately made from the Hebrew*.

* I have corrected this passage from our author's Letter to the Bishop of London, p. 83, agreeably to his express desire.

“ But a still more important work has been recently announced: a French translation of the whole Bible by the late F. Houbigant; the publication of which is committed to his learned colleague F. Lalande; and will not, we hope, be long delayed.”

He next examines what assistance a translator may derive from interpreters and commentators. His research in this part of his subject extends as far back as to the fathers of the first and second century. In the course of his elaborate review, to follow him so as to give a minute account of his observations would be to occupy too much time. I shall therefore only observe, that he speaks with chief approbation of Poole's Synopsis; the *Critica Sacra* of Capellus; Michaëlis; Kennicott and Lowth; to the two last of whom, in conjunction with a cloud of compatriot critics, he pays the highest and at the same time the most justly merited compliments. With respect to the myriads of other commentators and interpreters of different nations, glanced at as he proceeds, it is impossible in this epitome to offer any account of his opinion of their abilities, or even to enumerate their names.

“ Having thus,” says he, “ pretty copiously treated on the principal causes of the imperfection of mo-

dern versions, and pointed out what I deemed the surest means of removing them, I will now venture to give my opinion of the distinguishing characters of a good translation ; and of the chief qualifications necessary for a translator."

Upon the former subject he offers us four important canons. The first is, that a translation of the Bible ought to be faithful ; that is, ought to express all the meaning, and no more than the meaning, of the original. Secondly, that it ought to be perspicuous. Thirdly, that it should possess elegance ; but an elegance of a special kind, and of peculiar characteristics ; that it should comprise a just and proper selection of terms, arranged in the most natural order, and divested of every meretricious ornament. Fourthly, that it should possess as strict an uniformity of style and manner as is consistent with the foregoing properties. On the latter subject, or that which relates to the qualifications of a good translator, he gives us the following list of essential properties. The translator should be well acquainted with the language from which, and the language into which, he translates ; and for this purpose should have made a long and serious study of both. He should be conversant with Greek and Roman learning ; and have a general knowledge of an-

cient and modern history, as well as ancient and modern sciences. He should be a man of acute penetration, of nice discernment, and a sure and delicate taste formed on the best models of antiquity. He should be endowed with a constitution fit to endure, and an inclination to undergo, assiduous and persevering labor; a qualification too rarely conjoined with quickness of apprehension, and elegance of taste. And lastly, to crown the whole, he should possess an honest impartiality, and be divested of systems of every kind, literary, physical, and religious.

Such exactions, it may well be observed, are enormous, and such a possession of talents, of rare occurrence indeed. But our author shall here once more speak for himself.

“Some reader,” says he, “may here be disposed to ask: Are you possessed of all these qualifications? To this not unnatural question I beg leave to give an answer, somewhat similar to that which Cicero gives on a similar occasion; though on a different subject. Having described, with inimitable eloquence, the qualities of an accomplished orator, he modestly declares that he has given, rather an idea of what he conceived to be possible, than of what he ever expected to see. How much greater reason have I to acknowledge

that my ideal portraiture of a good translator of the Bible is far beyond the reach of my own abilities.

“To be still more explicit and ingenuous: although I have long endeavoured after the qualifications above mentioned, to affirm positively that I have actually acquired them all, or any one of them in an eminent degree, would be an unconfidentious and rash assertion. In learning, genius and judgment, I know myself to be inferior to many; some few may exceed me in diligence, assiduity and laboriousness; but in candor, impartiality and uprightness of intention, I will yield to none.”

I have thus given a minute analysis of this elaborate work; more minute indeed than I shall find it necessary to offer respecting any one of the doctor's remaining publications: the Prospectus being an important document in the elucidation of his life, as well from the general entertainment and instruction it cannot but afford the reader, as from its laying a foundation for many of the chief publications and events that characterize his future history. I have purposely refrained from observations of my own, excepting in a few instances, in which I thought to the English reader they might be illustrative of the subject discussed, or for some other reason of equal

prominence and cogency ; having been more solicitous to perform the task of an honest reporter than of an acute critic. Of the high merit of the work the world has been sensible from the moment of its appearance, and no eulogy of mine could add to the reputation it has so long maintained.

CHAPTER V.

Letter to the Bishop of London, designed as an Appendix to the Prospectus—Letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley—Application of the Protestant Dissenters to Parliament for a repeal of the Test Act—Letter to a Member of Parliament on the Case of the Protestant Dissenters.—Dr. Geddes engages in the Analytical Review—List of the Articles he wrote in this Journal—He publishes his Proposals for printing his Translation of the Bible—General Answer to the Queries, Counsils and Criticisms communicated to him. A.D. 1786—1790.

WE must still accompany the doctor as a bibli-
cist; though the extent and versatility of his ta-
lents will occasionally present him to us in feve-
ral widely different characters. The favorable re-
ception of his Prospectus, and the compliments
paid him on a perusal of it by many scholars of
the first eminence and erudition, I have already
noticed. He regarded them as an omen of his
future success, and was stimulated in a ten-fold
degree to a perseverance in his labors.

The possession or probability of public applause,
though when doubtful the most powerful incen-
tive to genius—is not always (when the doubt is

overcome) most advantageous either to the work or the agent to whom it relates. Some persons, goaded on to reap the harvest before it be ripe, have disappointed the high-raised hopes of the world by presenting to it an immature and precipitate performance ; while others have relaxed from their prior severity of attention, have sunk into the very lap of carelessness and indulgence, and have proved themselves hereby equally unfaithful to the powers of their own minds, and the generous expectations of the public. In neither of these classes however are we to rank the subject of the present memoirs. He had now just attained his fiftieth year ; his faculties, in acquiring their full vigor, had acquired at the same time a degree of steadiness which rendered them superior to the intoxicating cup of popular applause : his life had been half devoted to one prime pursuit, and he had obtained patience enough to resolve upon spending the remainder of his days in laboring it to perfection by new investigations and improvements, rather than hasten to the haven of rest before him, without having fully accomplished the object of his voyage. Instead, therefore, of flying precipitately to the press with his manuscript version, he determined to avail himself of the general and ardent inclination to assist him, which appeared to predominate in the

republic of letters, and with laudable modesty once more addressed himself to the public through the medium of "A Letter to the right rev. the Bishop of London, containing Queries, Doubts and Difficulties relative to a vernacular Version of the Holy Scriptures." This address was designed as a direct appendix to his Prospectus: it was published in the ensuing year (1787), and was accompanied with a success, as he himself assures us, equal to that of his former publication*.

Aware as our translator was, from the first idea of his undertaking, that the task would be accompanied with very numerous and considerable difficulties, he candidly confesses that he was not aware of all the difficulties which occurred to him as he proceeded. "If I had been," he observes, "I should perhaps have prudently declined an enterprise which I cannot, without pusillanimity, now relinquish." The chief objects of this Letter are to inquire how far the style and phraseology of our present English version ought to be adopted or rejected? To what extent we should admit the introduction of Hebraisms, or modes of phrasing peculiar to the Hebrew tongue? Whether, in cases of their occasional rejection, they should be retained in the margin? Whether, if it be allowable to vary the idiom or phraseology, it may not

* Address to the Public, p. 8.

be equally lawful to suppress those expletive and redundant words, which originating throughout every language in colloquial dialect, are too often continued by the best and most elegant writers, in spite of all grammar and philological consistency, from a want of hardihood to expunge them? Whether, if the pleonasm be retrenched, the ellipsis should not be supplied, if the supplements be virtually contained in the elliptic phrase? How far, and in what circumstances, it may be expedient to follow the Hebrew arrangement of words and sentences? And whether the present orthography of proper names should be preserved, deduced, for the most part, from the Masoretic punctuation; or, consistently with the plan of our first English translators Tindal and Coverdale, a nearer approximation to the Greek and Latin exemplars may not be indulged for the sake of euphony?

To follow him through the whole extent of these queries—to exhibit the foundations of his doubts, or the grounds of his decisions, would be to copy the whole pamphlet of seventy quarto pages into the present work. It is enough to offer a few extracts and observations upon particular parts, and to notice generally, that as no critic or philologist will perhaps agree with the author in every individual dogma he has ventured to

suggest; so he himself shortly afterwards, as I shall have occasion to remark, upon more mature consideration, or hints communicated to him by other persons, with a liberality not every day to be met with, departed in a variety of instances from the opinions here advanced, and gave the public due notice of his recantation.

He appears fully to have substantiated this position, that “there is in our last national version a blamable want of uniformity in the mode of translating.” There are undoubtedly many words, and even sentences, which admit, and often require, a different rendering: but there is a strange want of precision in rendering ארבה at one time a *locust*, and at another a *grasshopper*; לענה worm-wood and *hemlock*; קמוש nettles and *thorns*; ראש hemlock and *gall*; יונה an *owl* and an *ostrich*; שש linen and *silk*; קאת the *cormorant* and the *pelican*. In like manner נכד is rendered indiscriminately a *nephew* and a *grandson*; תף a *tabret* and a *timbrel*; שריון a *coat of mail*, an *habergeon*, a *breast-plate*, and a *brigandine*. The translators have moreover manifested the same unnecessary diversity in translating whole sentences, or parts of sentences, which Dr. Geddes has thus noticed with regard to individual words.

“There are no phrases,” says he, “in the rendering of which they have shown more variety

than in those of which the words בן and איש make a part. The first of these, which primarily signifies a *son*, and secondarily a descendant of any kind, has, in the oriental dialects, a much wider acceptation; and is applied not only to the offspring of the brute creation, but also to productions of every sort; and, what is still more catchrestical, even to consequential or concomitant relations: so that an *arrow* is called *the son of the bow*; *the morning star*, the son of the morning; *threshed-out corn*, the son of the floor; and *anointed persons*, the sons of oil.

“ Now our translators have, in rendering such phrases, for the most part softened the Hebraism; but after no uniform manner. *Sons of Belial* בני בליעל is surely not more intelligible to an English reader than *sons of oil*; and much less so than *sons of valour*, *sons of righteousness*, *sons of iniquity*: yet, while they retain the first Hebraism with all its original harshness, and partly in its original form*, they mollify the three last into *valiant men*, *righteous men*, *wicked men*.

* “ Even here they are not consistent. For, if once they admitted the word *Belial*, they should have retained it throughout; and said *a thing of Belial*, *a heart of Belial*, *a witness of Belial*, *the floods of Belial*: which, however, they render *an evil disease*, *a wicked heart*, *an ungodly witness*, *the floods of ungodliness*. Nay they have, once or twice, translated

“ The same inconsistency holds with regard to *אִישׁ* in a similar construction. If they could, without hurting the English idiom, translate *a man of war, a man of understanding, a man of sorrows, a man of strife, a man of wicked devices, the man of thy right hand*; why not also *a man of peace, a man of truth, a man of violence, a man of iniquity*?

“ The same variety appears in the rendering of *אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה* *a man of war*. Thus Exodus xv. 3. ‘ The Lord is a man of war : ’ but Psalm xxiv. 8. ‘ The Lord mighty in battle.’ Again, Num. xxxi. 49. ‘ Thy servants have taken the sum of the men of war : ’ but in the same chapter, ver. 27. ‘ Them that took the war upon them.’ The LXX generally rendered the words by *πολεμιστης*; and our translators have used *warrior* and *warriors* in the same sense, on similar occasions. 1 Kings xii. 21. ‘ Four-score thousand men which were warriors,’ *עֲשָׂה מִלְחָמָה*; which 2 Chron. xxvi. 11. they render ‘ fighting men.’

“ ‘ Come ye after me ’ is as intelligible as

אִישׁ בְּלִיעַל and *אָדָם בְּלִיעַל* *a wicked man*. At any rate, if such phrases were not good English in the Old Testament, how came they to adopt them in the New? For there we meet with ‘ the child of hell, the children of light, the children of wrath, the son of perdition, &c.’

‘ follow me ’—‘ To cut off the ends or extremities of a country ’ is as intelligible, and it should seem less vulgar than ‘ to cut a country short.’ See 2 Kings vi. 19. and x. 23. So Prov. iv. 26. ‘ Ponder the path of thy feet, and let all thy ways be established.’ The Hebraism of the last part of this sentence, ‘ and all thy ways shall be ordered aright,’ which is the marginal rendering, is no less clear and expressive than what has been adopted in its stead. Again, Prov. vi. 16. ‘ Six *things* doth the Lord hate ; yea, seven are an abomination to him.’ I mistake if it would not have been better to retain the Hebraism ; ‘ yea, seven are the abomination of his soul.’ Prov. xxvi. 20. the Hebrew has, ‘ Without wood the fire goeth out,’ which our translators, with the help of Italics, paraphrase thus : ‘ Where no wood *is, there* the fire goeth out :’ which, compared with the other, appears languid and drawling. Psalm xci. 16. ‘ With long life will I satisfy him.’ The Hebraism, ‘ with length of days, &c.’ seems not only as clear, but more energetic and poetical.

“ The personal pronouns *אני* and *אתה* seem redundant in such phrases as these : ‘ The woman, whom thou gavest to be with me, *she* gave me of the tree—And Debora, a prophet-

els, the wife of Lapidoth, *she* judged Israel at that time——Now Hannah, *she* spoke in her heart——But your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, *them* will I bring in——Your carcases, *they* shall fall in this wilderness.’ I am well aware that this has been called an emphatical mode of expression ; and, in some instances, accounted a particular beauty ; as when the people exclaim, 1 Kings xviii. 39. ‘ The Lord, *he* is the God ; The Lord, *he* is the God.’ Be it so ; yet, even here it has all the air of vulgar tautology ; and brings to one’s mind the old song : ‘ Bell, *she* is my darling, &c.’ Were it at all deemed necessary to translate the redundant word for the sake of emphasis, I should prefer giving it another turn, and say, ‘ That woman, &c. The prophetess Debora, &c.—Those little ones, &c.—Jehovah himself, &c.’—Although in general it would, perhaps, be more agreeable to the simplicity of the Scripture-style to leave the pronoun untranslated *.”

On the subject of arrangement, he thus expresses his motives for deviating from the general

* “ Our translators did not always render it. Thus Exod. iv. 14. we have, ‘ I know that he can speak well ;’ which in the original is, ‘ I know that he can speak well, *he*,’ corresponding exactly with the French vulgarism, ‘ Je vous le dis, moi—Il se tait, lui.’ ”

opinion of modern critics respecting the lineal division of Hebrew poetry.

“ But should a version of the poetical parts of Scripture be divided into lines or hemistichs, corresponding with what is called Hebrew metre? This method, first practised by the Germans, has been adopted by the writers of most other nations; and more especially by those of our own. Bishop Newcome has even made it one of his fifteen rules for a good translation.

“ Notwithstanding all this, I cannot help seriously doubting of its propriety. I can see no force or beauty it adds to the text, nor profit nor pleasure it can bring to the reader. On the contrary, I think, it considerably disjoins and disfigures the one, and often perplexes and puzzles the other. Permit me to lay before your lordship a specimen from your own *Isaiah*; the first that presents itself:

And it shall be, when Moab shall see
That he hath wearied himself out on the high place,
That he shall enter into his sanctuary
To intercede: but he shall not prevail.

Isaiah xvi. 12.

“ Or the following from bishop Newcome's *Zachariah*:

In that day Jehovah will defend
The inhabitants of Jerusalem:

And he that is feeble among them shall be

In that day, as David.

“ Does it really appear to your lordship, that in either of these instances the text looks to advantage ; or that the reader will be better pleased to see it arrayed in this whimsical manner, than in the sober garb of measured prose ? I greatly fear he will not.

“ Indeed this mode of dividing a translation of the Hebrew poetry seems very similar to that which was followed in the old literal Latin versions of Homer ; which not only give us no adequate idea of the beauties of the great original ; but create an eternal disgust to the reader, by displaying before his eyes all the external appearance of verse, without any of its properties. Yet those Latin lines have one advantage over your English ones : we are sure they correspond exactly with so many Greek verses ; whereas no one will, I presume, assert the same of any stichical version made from the Hebrew.

“ You, my lord, of all men know best, how little we are acquainted with the measure and mechanism of Hebrew verse ; and how capricious, for the most part, are the divisions that have been made of them, even by the most learned Hebraists. What one would divide into long lines,

another would divide into short ; and what by this one would be combined into stanzas, would by that one be arranged in separate hemistichs. So that, in reality, to give a version divided into lines of any sort, would be to give us no more than the arbitrary notions of the divider ; and could only serve to impress a false, or at least an uncertain idea on the mind of the reader ; without contributing either to his instruction or edification.

“ For what instruction or edification can the mere English reader receive from such irregular and ill-connected lines as these, presented to him as an exemplification of Hebrew verse ?

In the house of Israel I have seen a horrible thing :
 There Ephraim committeth fornication ;
 Israel is polluted.
 Moreover, O Judah, an harvest is appointed of thee
 Among those who lead away the captivity of my people.
 Zech. viii. 21.

Or these :

And the inhabitants of one city shall go
 Into another, saying :
 Let us surely go to entreat the face of Jehovah,
 And to seek Jehovah God of Hosts :
 I will go also.

Were the text for public service to be thus divided, the best readers would, I believe, make but

an awkward appearance in delivering the most sublime oracles of religion. The eye and the ear would be at continual variance; the tones and cadences would be perpetually confounded, and grating disharmony attend the pronunciation of almost every period.

“On the whole, then, may I not appeal to your lordship’s judgment, even from your own practice; that in giving a version for general reading, such a division of those parts which are supposed to be poetry, would be attended with manifest inconvenience, and with no visible advantage; and that, therefore, a plain prose-like version, which should preserve as much as possible of what your lordship has so ably proved to constitute the essence of Hebrew poetry, would be greatly preferable?”

“The public will, perhaps, here tax me with presumption for offering to differ from so many learned men. But I trust I have done it with all due deference and modesty. I have candidly proposed my own doubts; I wish to have them canvassed; am ready to hear what may be said on the other side of the question, and disposed to give up my opinion to the general voice.”

There appears so much propriety in the following observations respecting the term Jehovah, which has lately been gaining so prodigious

an ascendancy in all our most approved versions of distinct parts of the Old Testament, that I cannot avoid introducing them.

“ The God of the Israelites is particularly distinguished by the name יהוה (Jeve); of which neither the precise meaning nor the genuine pronunciation is well known. *Jekovab* is a barbarous term, that was never heard of before the sixteenth century; neither Pagninus, nor Munster, nor even Montanus, used it in their versions: but Junius and Castalio having once given it a sanction, it came gradually into general usage among Latin translators and commentators; and has of late made its way into vernacular versions. Bate, your lordship, Green, Blaney, and bishop Newcome, have all adopted it; and the last-mentioned writer thinks it should always be used.

“ I have, notwithstanding, some doubt about it; which I beg leave to propose. As the word LORD has been so long employed among Christians, to denote the Supreme Being, and is the only one in the New Testament by which he is known, I should be strongly inclined to retain it in the Old; so much the more, because the ancient Greek, Syriac, Latin and Arabic interpreters respectively rendered יהוה by a similar term *Kyrios*, כריא, Dominus, רב. Besides, we sometimes meet with יהוה in construction with צבאות :

which we could hardly render ‘Jehovah of Hosts;’ and bishop Newcome himself allows that, in such cases, we must supply אלהים, and say ‘Jehovah God of Hosts.’

“There is only one objection that now occurs. The word אדוני is also translated *Lord*, and with the suffix *my Lord*, although it is only a term of respect applied to human beings; and most probably never applied to the Deity without the repetition of יהאדוני, ‘Lord of Lords.’ It should seem, therefore, that a distinction should be made between the terms. Our translators made a distinction. They rendered יהוה THE LORD, and put it in capitals; and אדוני *my Lord*, in common letters. If a further discrimination be deemed expedient, let some other term be used to express אדוני; and I see no one so proper as *Sir*. It will, perhaps, be said that the term is too trite and familiar; but it is not more so than אדוני must have been in Judea; nor can it, on that account, be more improper in the Old Testament than in the New; where we have ‘Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with,’ John iv. 11. And in the same chapter, ‘Sir, give me this water.—Sir, I perceive thou art a prophet.—Sir, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field, &c.’ And in the plural, Acts xxvii. 21. ‘Sirs,’ (said St. Paul) ‘ye should have hearkened unto me;’ and ver. 25.

‘Wherefore, Sirs, be of good cheer.’ The Greek indeed is here *αὐδρες*; but if the apostle had spoken in Hebrew, it would have been *אֲדָוָנִי*. At any rate, the term has the authority of our last translators. Nay, we meet with it, once at least, in the Old Testament. ‘O Sir,’ (said Joseph’s brethren to the steward) ‘we came indeed down at the first time to buy bread.’ Gen. xliii. 20. I would therefore propose using, throughout, the word LORD for *יְהוָה*, and the word Sir for *אֲדָוָנִי*.

He inquires whether the words *wherefore*, *therefore*, *wherein*, *therein*, *whereof*, *thereof*, *whereby*, *thereby*, *whereunto*, *thereunto*, *heretofore*, *theretofore*, and other similar compounds, ought to be retained or discarded? “To be convinced,” says he, “that they are not strictly grammatical, we have only to analyse them; for who could bear *for there*, *for where*, *in where*, *in there*, *of where*, *of there*, &c. ? And yet,” continues he, “I fear we cannot do well without them, particularly the two first.”—Of such compound adverbs, however, I think we may say with lady Macbeth on a very different occasion,

..... These *things* must not be thought
After these ways.....

There are, indeed, few of them in any language

that will stand the test of this kind of analysis. It may, perhaps, apply to such as *καθως*, *propterea*, *quare*, *quamobrem*, *perciò* or *perciocchè*, *pourquoi*, or its Spanish and Portuguese synonyms *porqué* and *paraqué*—but what are we to make of *επειδηπερ*, *quandoquidem*, *equidem*, *inde*, *dein*, *deinde*, *proinde*, *perinde*, &c. which are mere strings of adverbs or prepositions, not only incapable of grammatical construction, but in many instances united without any ostensible motive? *Whereunto*, *wherewithal*, and some others of the same limping length and awkward appearance, notwithstanding the authority of several of our best writers, and particularly of Dean Swift, may perhaps be banished for their inelegance; but I am afraid, if the proscription were to extend to the entire family, we should be frequently at a loss for a substitute.

It is but fair, however, to state that Dr. Geddes is not alone in the opinion he has offered upon this class of adverbs. Mr. Hume was guided by a similar taste, and has thus expressed his aversion to the whole fraternity in a humorous letter written to his friend Dr. Robertson, upon the first appearance of his *History of Charles V.*, a letter which is preserved in the *Life of the latter*, published about two years since by Dr. Stewart. “You know,

that you and I have always been on the footing of finding in each other's productions something to blame and something to commend; and therefore you may perhaps expect also some seasoning of the former kind; but really neither my leisure nor inclination allowed me to make such remarks, and I sincerely believe you have afforded me very small materials for them. However, such particulars as occur to my memory I shall mention.—What the devil had you to do with that old-fashioned dangling word *wherewith*? I should as soon take back *whereupon*, *whereunto*, and *wherewithal*. I think the only tolerable decent gentleman of the family is *wherein*, and I should not choose to be often seen in his company. But I know your affection for *wherewith* proceeds from your partiality to Dean Swift, whom I can often laugh with, whose style I can even approve, but surely can never admire. It has no harmony, no eloquence, no ornament, and not much correctness, whatever the English may imagine.”

The doctor next inquires whether, consistently with the uniform practice of the standard Bible, the pronoun *ye* should not be used as a nominative plural, instead of what he denominates the *accusative you*, notwithstanding the propensity in modern writers to substitute the latter in its place?

and whether the termination *eth* should be retained in the third person singular of the indicative mood?

Universal custom has of late given us two plural nominative cases to the second pronoun personal; for, in concurrence with almost every language of Europe excepting the German, it has made a nominative of the oblique case; so that we now use the terms *ye* and *you* indiscriminately, or at least with this only difference, that in classical English the latter alone is applicable to an individual. *Ye* is still in frequent acceptation, and especially in the vocative case; and there can be no reason, therefore, for its being banished from a modern version of the Bible. As to the terminating *eth*, this is assuredly both as uncouth and as obsolete as the terms *whereunto*, *wherewithal*; and there can be no reason for rejecting the latter, unless the former accompany them in their exile. We shall still have *ths* enough left to excite the abhorrence and break the teeth of almost every foreigner who visits us. Hume, in the letter I have just quoted, expresses his objection upon this point more forcibly still. “But you tell me that Swift does otherwise. To be sure, there is no reply to that; and we must swallow your *batb* too, upon the same authority. I will see you d—d sooner.”

There are, I well know, many sensible men

and admirable scholars, who contend that the phraseology of the Bible ought not to be changed on any account; that much of its sanctity and impressive power depend upon the venerable diction in which it has been handed down to us; and that, although it do not contain the language of the present day, it contains a language with which we are sufficiently familiar to comprehend the whole of its meaning, as well as to relish the whole of its beauties. If it be universally judged right that, independently of the vernacular tongue, we should have a Sanscrit, a ἱερα γλωσσα or language peculiar to the sacred writings in Great Britain, as well as in Hindustan, I have no objection to such an opinion; but should wish, on the contrary, that the Bible diction should be thus retained unfettered and entire; and that, like the Sanscrit, or the column lately imported from Egypt, it should be also limited to its original and appropriate characters, its ἱερα γραμματα, and therefore be reprinted with the venerable black letter. If we once admit of innovation, and suffer it to be modernised in any respect whatever, no reason can be urged why we should not persevere till the whole be remodelled upon the chastest and most elegant examples.

Our author concludes his Letter with a variety of other grammatic and orthographic queries;

which, although for the most part of minor consideration, incontestably prove how maturely he had weighed the subject upon which he was engaged, in all its ramifications, and exhibit a strong proof of excellent judgement and correct taste. I should not, however, omit to mention, because he has adhered to it in his version, the rule proposed respecting the final *b* appended by the translators of our standard edition to the generality of Hebrew proper names which terminate with the vowel ם, and that is, to retain it for the mere purpose of distinguishing masculines from feminines. To this I confess I cannot altogether accede. I agree with Dr. Geddes that the *b* is, in such cases, completely useless, and I would therefore equally expunge it from both genders. We do not want it either in Greek or Latin; and it must be quite as easy to determine that *Juda* as that *Cinna* is of the male gender, without a terminating *b* to ascertain the sex; which, in reality, is not less supernumerary in the former than in the latter. I am very much astonished, indeed, at the inclination which appears to prevail amidst the generality of our oriental scholars for introducing this useless appendage not only into the Hebrew or Chaldaic, but into the Persian and Arabic; and, for my own part, would extend the canon here proposed to a much wider space, and never admit of a terminating *b* to an appellation, whether mascu-

line or feminine, in any of these tongues, unless actually expressed in the original languages by an π , τ or α .

To the Letter before us is subjoined a Postscript containing a correction of several errors which had crept into the Prospectus: answers to correspondents who had either made inquiries or offered advice: and a list of persons who had particularly promoted our author's design: in the last of which classes I ought not to omit the illustrious name of sir William Jones, here and in one or two other places erroneously entitled bart., who very kindly favored him with a manuscript commentary on the whole Bible: "in which," says Dr. Geddes, "although there be not much criticism, there is a great deal of good sense and many pertinent reflections." He does not state whether this manuscript were a production of sir William's own, or of some other person: if the former, why has not so valuable a work, for every thing must be valuable from the hands of such a scholar, made its appearance among his other publications, in the splendid edition brought forward by the Robinsons?

Our author's liberal sentiments had, at all times, allowed him to associate with the learned and the virtuous of every religious persuasion; and his li-

terary character had now, for a considerable period, introduced him to an acquaintance with Dr. Priestley. The ardor with which this celebrated polemic followed up his own opinions, whether of philosophy or religion, and the perseverance with which he pressed them upon the world at large, are known to every one. Dr. Geddes, who gave him credit for a greater degree of orthodoxy in the former instance than the majority of theoretic chemists have since been disposed to allow him, could not, nevertheless, remain silent under his public avowals of heterodoxy in the latter; and uniting in the confederacy against this undaunted theologian, he published in the present year a small pamphlet, entitled “A Letter to the reverend Dr. Priestley, in which the Author attempts to prove, by one prescriptive Argument, that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was a primitive Tenet of Christianity.”

This “prescriptive argument” is drawn from the general, though perhaps not universal, assent among the earliest fathers of the Christian church to the doctrine here supported, and from the direct means they must have possessed of informing themselves of the sentiments of the apostles; and more especially from their unanimous decision upon this subject in the celebrated ecumenic council at Nice. “I grant you,” says our author, “that the fathers assembled at Nicea were, both severally and con-

junctly, an assembly of fallible men: but when I make this concession, I expect that you, on your part, will allow them to have been men of common sense and common integrity. Many of them were remarkable for the sanctity of their lives; some had shown the highest degree of christian fortitude in confessing Jesus before tyrants and persecutors; and there were those among them, whose learning and abilities would not disgrace the most enlightened age. In short, if I should say that they were altogether the most respectable body of ecclesiastics that ever met, and the freest from every sort of control, I hardly think that you would call my assertion unguarded. But I content myself with my first demand; and supposing them only men of *common sense* and *common integrity*, I ask you whether you think it in the smallest degree probable, that three hundred and eighteen of the principal pastors in the Christian church, convoked from the three parts of the then known world, could possibly combine to establish a doctrine different from that which they had hitherto taught their respective flocks, and which they had themselves received from their predecessors in the ministry?"

This argument is not, I think, quite so conclusive as our author seems to suppose. For, without entering into the history and authority of Theodotus, Ebion, Cerinthus, the *Clemen-*

tine romance, as he chooses to denominate it, and whatever else is appealed to by the supporters of Unitarianism,—it is sufficient to remark that not only the Christian world, but the world at large, has with a much greater degree of universality embraced erroneous opinions upon other subjects—and adhered to them for a greater lapse of ages with a pertinacity equal to that with which the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus Christ has been maintained. Does the earth or the sun constitute the centre of the solar system? does the former exhibit an annual circuit around the latter, or the latter a diurnal circuit around the former? Jews, Christians, and Heathens from the beginning of time to the æra of Copernicus have with a voice almost unanimous concurred in asserting the latter. A few heterodox protests, it is true, have occasionally been entered, from an early period of the world, against the common creed; for Nicetas of Syracuse not only introduced the idea of the earth's diurnal motion round her own axis; but Philotas, one of the first disciples of Pythagoras, actually discovered its annual motion in the ecliptic: a conjoint doctrine, which, as we are informed by Archimedes, was revived about a thousand years afterwards by Aristarchus the Samian; and which is well known to have laid the foundation for Copernicus to work upon. But these philo-

fophic heresiarchs have either been so few in number, and possessed of so little authority, as to receive no attention from the multitude; or, whenever they have been thus successful, have been sure to excite the whole concentrated force of both spiritual and temporal powers against them. Copernicus, after having suffered his discovery to be extorted from him by his friends, is generally believed to have died from terror alone of the tortures to which he hereby became exposed. The punishment of Galileo is well known: nothing but a public recantation could release him from imprisonment; and he was still condemned to the penance of repeating once a week for the ensuing three years the seven penitentiary psalms. Virgilius, bishop of Salsburg, during the papacy of Zachary was reduced to the same dilemma: he was accused by Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, of maintaining the *erroneous* and *blasphemous* doctrine of the antipodes: and the supreme and infallible prelate pre-decreed, that if upon his trial he should be convicted of holding this abominable error, which he had thus uttered against the Lord, and against his own soul, to wit, that there are other worlds, other men under the earth, other suns, and other moons,—a consistory should immediately be convened, that he should be degraded from the honor of the priesthood, and be excom-

municated from the church. The world at large might not approve, perhaps, of such cruel and unjustifiable violence—but it approved, almost without a dissenting voice, of the doctrine in favor of which it was disclosed; a doctrine founded upon the sensible phænomena of nature, and supposed to be confirmed by the sacred Scriptures of both Jews and Christians. It is now, however, universally admitted that this universal opinion, not of councils alone, but of every nation on earth, was an error, and that the Bible establishes no such tenet as it was then deemed blasphemy to doubt of. The mere opinion of fallible men, therefore, whatever be their honesty or their judgement, whether assembled in councils or secluded in closets—ought in all important and questionable subjects to be received with hesitation: and universality of concurrence forms no absolute proof of truth. The Scriptures which were open to the Nicene fathers are still open to us, and it is to them alone we ought to apply for full and satisfactory conviction.

With respect to the labors of the council of Nice, there is also another very considerable draw-back from the authority to which it might otherwise pretend. The convened clergy admitted unanimously, it is true, the pre-existence of Jesus Christ—but they disputed and disagreed concern-

ing his co-eternity and co-equality with the Father. Dr. Geddes, in the pamphlet before us, contends that “they were unanimous in their belief of his divinity:” but the divinity ascribed to him by the Arian party was of a very different and inferior species to that attributed both by themselves and their Trinitarian brethren to the Father: and consequently, we can hardly look up to a council in which such a diversity of opinion prevailed upon the very subject in question, with much confidence in any resolution they may have adopted respecting it.

The pamphlet is, nevertheless, upon the whole a very ingenious performance: and there is no reader but must be pleased with the liberal and amiable manner in which it concludes. “I cannot allow myself to believe that the divinity of Jesus will ever be without defenders, or that its ablest defenders will not be Englishmen: but let its defenders be mild and moderate; let them imitate the conduct of him whose cause they undertake to plead; let not their zeal, however fervent, transport them beyond the bounds of decency and decorum. Their style will not be the less nervous, because it is void of asperity; nor their arguments the less conclusive, because unmixt with injuries. To discover Truth is professedly the aim of us all: let us pursue the path that seems the most likely

to lead us to her abode, with ardor but not with animosity; and if we be convinced that we have been happy enough to find it out, let us not insult those who, in our estimation, may have been less successful. *Non contumeliis et probris vexemus alios; sed honestè positisque præjudiciis, causam disceptemus.*"

It was about this period (1789) that the protestant dissenters made their celebrated application to parliament for a repeal of the test act; having been encouraged by the previous promises of Mr. Pitt, whose memory, on this as well as on many other subjects, exhibited a most *convenient facility* of forgetfulness. The question was brought forward in the lower house with much confidence by Mr. Beaufoy—but Mr. Pitt the minister was a different man from Mr. Pitt the patriot. Having in a considerable degree risen into office on the backs of the dissenters, he deserted them the moment he had no further occasion for their services: he opposed the question, and it was lost. The dissenters were very angry, and had much reason to be angry: for treachery of memory was not the only treachery of which they publicly accused him. The scheme was planned with his entire knowledge, and at least his implied concurrence: he was waited upon by a deputation of the dissenting body, only a few days prior to the discussion of

the repeal in the senate; and he gave them every reason to suppose that his sentiments upon the subject of religious liberty were not changed, and that it was his intention to support Mr. Beaufoy's motion.

If, however, the dissenters had reason to complain of the minister, the catholics had reason to complain of the dissenters: who certainly endeavoured to justify themselves, and the conduct of their ancestors, at the expense of the former, by maintaining in almost every pamphlet published on this occasion, not only that all the different disabling statutes from the twenty-fifth of Charles II., in which both parties were equally included, were *intentionally* levelled against papists alone; but that the grounds of emancipation on behalf of themselves were widely different from what could be advanced by the latter:—that the danger to be hereby apprehended was infinitely less; and that their claims upon government were incontrovertibly more cogent. This was most unquestionably to enforce a just claim by an illiberality of sentiment unworthy of the tolerant and enlightened period in which it was urged before the public; and was more peculiarly injurious to the English catholics, because they also were, at this very moment, meditating a plan for a more plenary toleration than they had hitherto enjoyed, in which they had

much reason to expect the countenance and approbation of government.

One of the most popular of the ephemeral productions in which these arguments were advanced was a small anonymous pamphlet, entitled “The Case of the Protestant Dissenters with reference to the Test and Corporation Acts:” and as the English catholics were more violently oppugned in this than in any other publication of the same class, our very able champion of the catholic cause could not refrain from an anonymous reply to it in a pamphlet of about an equal length, entitled “A Letter to a Member of Parliament on the ‘Case of the Protestant Dissenters,’ and the Expediency of a general Repeal of all Penal Statutes that regard religious Opinions.” It bears the date of 1787; and is intended to show, in opposition to the author of the *Case*, that protestant dissenters from the æra of the Restoration have been at all times as obnoxious to government as papists; that the disqualifying statutes which embrace both parties were, in every instance, as much levelled against the former as against the latter; and that, allowing any evil to be apprehended from a general repeal of such statutes, government would have more to dread from the machinations of the first than of the last. Upon all these subjects the doctor has given us a suffi-

cient and satisfactory reference to history:—but I think, as a mere question of debate, he has completely failed in the establishment of his deductions;—and that the events and records he has cited are altogether subversive of his own object and argument. I completely agree with him, however, that the plan pursued by the dissenters was highly illiberal with respect to the catholics, and in a great degree puerile and partial with respect to their own body. It was bottomed upon no broad and politic principle whatever. Instead of entertaining the whole question as a matter of municipal right, to which all were equally entitled who could take conscientiously (and the Roman catholics were admitted to be in such a state at the very moment) an oath of allegiance to the reigning prince and existing government—it limited its operation to a very small portion of the great body, who were suffering under the debilitating system; it consented to supplicate as a favor, in behalf of this inconsiderable minority, what it should have brought forwards as an act of national justice; and, in the supplication of this favor for this microscopic minority, confined itself to two or three exceptionable points alone, of mere mercenary consideration, instead of attacking and protesting against the whole theory of political pains and penalties which would still have disgraced the

statute-book, and subjected them, if rigidly enforced, to severer evils than any from which they petitioned to be liberated.

“The indulgence requested,” says our author, “would only go to relieve a part of protestant dissenters from a grievance which many protestant dissenters find a very small one, and which the almost annual acts of indemnity render no grievance at all; while there are penal and even bloody statutes remaining against a considerable part of their protestant brethren, for whom no relief is asked in this case. Not to mention that occasional conformity has not only been very generally practised by protestant dissenters, but has the approbation of some of their most eminent divines, and even of whole assemblies*.

“The present application of protestant dissenters, then, being a pitiful and partial application, for what is hardly worth soliciting, and what they already in some measure possess, will probably meet with little regard from any part of the legis-

* “In fact, are not our parliament, our armies, our navies, our corporations even, filled with protestant dissenters? who either make no scruple to qualify themselves by the sacramental test; or are brought to no inconvenience from neglecting it. In some instances they may avail themselves of it to avoid penalties, which their fellow subjects are liable to—witness the case of Mr. Evans, in 1757.”

lature for that very reason. The sticklers for establishment will consider it as the effect of a restless and turbulent disposition, that is never contented; and the real friends of religious freedom, and universal toleration, must look upon it as a silly endeavour to remove a mole-hill, whilst mountains remain untouched.

“It may be urged that those oppressive and sanguinary laws are a mere *dead letter*: but if so, let them be decently *interred*, and no longer remain a public nuisance, to reflect dishonor on the polity of a civilized nation, and expose it to the scorn of mankind. If the penal statutes are in their own nature so severe and odious, that they can never be put in execution (which some of them certainly are), to what purpose is it then to retain them? If they be deemed necessary for the conservation of the state, let them be punctually enforced; if they be not necessary, let them be annulled. There is here no medium; they must stand in our statute-book, either for the national *safety* or *shame*!

“But is it true that they are all a *dead letter*? Quite the contrary: there is a whole body of dissenting lieges, on whom some of them still operate as directly and effectually as ever; and others, which, though only of the debilitating kind, are in their consequences equal to a penalty, and severe

beyond example. If the other dissenters may be said to be ‘chastised with whips,’ this class of them is certainly ‘chastised with scorpions;’ and while the former complain of being overloaded with the ‘little finger’ of government, the latter have long patiently borne the pressure of its ‘loins.’

“You readily conceive, sir, that I mean the English catholics, a body not numerous indeed, but confessedly respectable; and as firmly attached to the present government, and the constitution of their country, as any of his majesty’s subjects. And here again the writers of the *Case* of the dissenters are blameable for the idle and impertinent insinuations thrown out against what they term *popery* and *papists*; terms that have been too often employed to work upon the minds of the people, and inspire them with horror at their fellow-creatures, by imputing to them tenets which they expressly disavow, and practices which they disclaim and abjure.

“Some of their tenets may be deemed absurd, some of their practices superstitious*; but neither

* “Even in these respects the catholics of the present day, and particularly the English catholics, are certainly not the same they were but half a century ago. The small, the very small indulgence that has been granted to them has already produced a considerable revolution in their minds. Since they be-

are incompatible with any one species of government. The supremacy of the Roman pontiff is the only thing in their doctrine that has the appearance of political danger : and to be sure it was once a dangerous doctrine, from the unwarrantable conclusions that were drawn from it, and the pernicious consequences that ensued. The sentence of an infallible judge was a tremendous sentence, and the thunders of the Vatican shook the firmest thrones in Christendom. But what was it that first gave infallibility to the decisions of a pope ? what rendered his thunders formidable ?—The lawless ambition, the pious folly, or the slavish weakness of temporal princes, who, to serve their own immediate purposes, or to satisfy their ill-placed devotion, concurred to aggrandize the Roman see, until it gradually became the seat of universal empire, and its bishop the sovereign arbiter of nations. In vain the clergy murmured and remonstrated against the invasion on their rights : papal usurpation, supported by regal power, bore every thing down before it. The institution of religious orders contributed not a little

gan to taste a small portion of British liberty, they think, they speak, they write like Britons. If we wish to see further reforms among them, let them quaff it in full draughts ; and I mistake it much, if that will not more effectually bring about the purpose than penalties and proscription."

to support the pope's pretensions. The little learning that existed, existed in the monasteries; and it was employed to assert and extend the supposed prerogatives of the Roman see; on which, despising all ordinary jurisdiction, they immediately depended.

“ Thus was the papal power, in times of general ignorance, screwed up to the most enormous pitch; when, like every other overgrown empire, it began to labor under its own weight, has fallen much faster than it rose, and is at present nearly reduced to its pristine narrow limits. The odious doctrine of deposing power, transferring crowns, and dispensing with oaths, has been long exploded in every catholic university. Even bulls, that regard matters purely spiritual, have no force unless they be accepted by the national church to which they are directed. Provincial synods, metropolitans, nay, simple bishops, take upon them to regulate the discipline of their respective districts, under the protection of the civil powers; and a few years more will probably bring the form of the catholic hierarchy back to that of the first centuries.

“ At any rate, there is no longer danger to civil government from papal power. The present bishop of Rome is, in that respect, as harmless a personage as the man in the moon, and the

supremacy which the English catholics allow to Pius VI. is not more dangerous to the constitution, than the primacy of his grace of Canterbury.”

Having enumerated several of the more prominent evils to which Roman catholics were at that time liable in our own country, our author, in his usual style of manly and liberal sentiment, concludes as follows :

“ Such, sir, you know to be the situation of the Roman catholics of England; a situation truly pitiable, and of which the hardships are hardly to be conceived but by those who feel them. Would it not, then, have been more generous, and more just, for the protestant dissenters to have come forward on this occasion with a little more candor and a little more manliness? to have made their petition to parliament as comprehensive as possible? and to have endeavoured to open so wide a door of toleration as to admit their fellow dissenters, of whatever persuasion, to go in along with them? Or, if they selfishly chose to go in alone, it surely did not become them to throw such stumbling-blocks in the way of their suffering brethren. The name of Christian is a much more ancient and more honorable, as well as a more comprehensive tie, than that of protestant; and there is a tie still more ancient and comprehensive than

either—that of humanity. The time, I trust, is not at a great distance, when the full force of this last will be understood and felt over all the polished nations of the world, when philanthropy and commutual interests will be the sole links of society, when tests and penal laws will be no more deemed necessary for the security of religion, and when Papist and Protestant, Athanasian and Arian, Lutheran and Calvinist, Trinitarian and Unitarian, will be names of mere distinction, not of reciprocal odium, and much less objects of reciprocal persecution.

“ And have we not reason to hope, sir, that the British legislature will be among the first to bring about a system so desirable, and so congenial to the British constitution? God knows, we have, and ever shall have, political disputes enough to divide us; why should those of religion come in for a share? Let some patriotic and enlightened soul, then, move at once for a repeal of every penal religious statute, and every religious test: be the pledge of the fidelity of the subject in future, his ordinary oath of allegiance, and his subsequent conduct, and let him be answerable only for his own; let religious principles be no more confounded with political ones; but let every Briton, without forfeiting his birth-right, profess his own belief of the Divinity, and worship

him after his own mode : and if he chooses not to worship at all, what is that to the state, if he faithfully serve it in the station he holds, or the charge he is intrusted with? In a word, let the only test of a good citizen be an obligation to be a *peaceable subject* and an *honest man*."

It is due to the characteristic candor of Dr. Geddes to notice that, as he had some doubts, after having written this letter, whether it might not injure the cause of the dissenters at that time pending in parliament, and to whom he wished a more extensive success than they had applied for themselves, he postponed the publication of it, and did not suffer it to appear till the question had been completely disposed of by a parliamentary negation.

It is also due to the same manly principle to observe, that when, in the ensuing year, the protestant dissenters, still elevated with hopes of success from the small majority by which their application to parliament had been rejected, renewed their attempt, and solicited Mr. Fox to bring it once more before the house, our author contributed his assistance to the same side of the question by a humorous and anonymous "Letter to the Right Reverend the Archbishops and Bishops of England; pointing out the only sure Means of preserving the Church from the Dangers that now

threaten her. By an Upper-Graduate." This light and volatile mode of engaging in an important subject may perhaps be objected to by some of my graver readers: yet, whoever has any recollection of the transactions of the day cannot but remember that the press was so deeply loaded with weightier publications—and that every solid argument had been so exhausted and worn-out by repeated use, wit and humor seem to have been the only weapons at this time untried. And in reality it is impossible not to smile at the universal agitation and alarm into which the dignitaries and many of the laity of the established church were thrown by so trifling an incident: an incident which, if the dissenters had proved successful, instead of endangering any one principle of either church or state, would have tended more than any other scheme that could have been devised, to the destruction of their own fraternity alone, by pulling down the great wall of separation which at present divides them from the establishment, and by amalgamating them hereby into one uniform mass with the majority of their fellow citizens. The dissenters once more lost their cause, however, and from their extreme violence and impolicy they deserved to lose it. Their principle was good, but their conduct was in many instances unconstitutional and contradictory. Tests

were proposed to destroy the existence of tests : and the parliament was attempted to be carried by storm. The candor, moderation and eloquence of Mr. Fox were exerted in vain, therefore, in favor of those who had ruined without the doors of the house the very question he had undertaken to support within ; and the majority against them was, in this renewed debate, not less than in the proportion of 294 to 105.

I do not know that the real author of this “ Letter to the Archbishops and Bishops ” was ever suspected—but there are nevertheless many paragraphs which might have given some sort of clue to the quarter whence it proceeded. Of this the reader may judge by the following extract :

“ In vain, my lords, your defenders appeal to authorities. What do dissenters care for the great Cranmer, the learned Bucer, the venerable Hooker, the incomparable Chillingworth, the orthodox Taylor, the ingenious Stillingfleet, the reverend Hammond, &c. &c. ?—The Romanists, they will tell you, use the same sort of arguments, and with a much better grace.—They talk to you of angelic, seraphic, and invincible doctors ! They run over the names of the great Bellarmine, the learned Cabassutius, the impartial Fleury, the judicious Tillemont, the admirable Bossuet, &c.—

And yet, my lords, they are not so unreasonable as to ground the pretended exclusive privileges of their church on these authorities.

“In vain you conjure up poor Sherlock to bear testimony in your behalf. The ghost of Hoadly pursues him whithersoever he goes, and tortures his prelatiſh ſoul even in the ſhades of Elyſium!—if Elyſium admit of torture.—In truth, the arguments of Hoadly in favor of a general, complete, undiſtinguiſhed toleration have never been answered, and never will be answered, ſatisfactorily; on the principles of *reason, ſcripture, and proteſtantism*.

“There is, however, one and only one effectual way of answering them; which I will now point out and recommend to your lordſhips’ attention.

“My lords, when you ſeparated from the church of Rome, you probably did not foreſee what uſe the diſſenters would make of your plea of ſeparation: much leſs, that you might, one day, be under the neceſſity of employing the ſame arguments againſt Preſbyterians, Socinians, Arians, and Anabaptiſts, which the Romaniſts urged againſt yourſelves, when you preſumed to diſſent from their church. It was badly conſidered, my lords! And, ſince you retained ſo many other good things and good doctrines of that church,

you should also have retained a share of her INFALLIBILITY—which was fairly worth all the rest. Without it, indeed, all the rest are held on a doubtful, precarious tenure. For what is church-authority unless it be infallible? A mere puppet, my lords, the wires of which the state may to-day put into your hands, and to-morrow into those of others! which, in England, are drawn by bishops; in Scotland by presbyters; in some countries by neither.”

The extensive learning and indefatigable activity of Dr. Geddes had, by this time, acquired for him a high degree of celebrity, not only among literary scholars, but in the literary market. Several of his publications sold well, and he was perpetually pressed to give either a stated or occasional assistance to many periodical works of progressive or established reputation. With these requests his own laborious and augmenting occupations prevented him from complying at least with any degree of frequency or regularity. The Analytical Review is the only literary journal to which he statedly or seriously contributed; though, in his moments of relaxation from severer studies, he casually enriched with some of their best fugitive pieces, both in prose and verse, the Morning Chronicle, and another newspaper or two of the same political bias.

To the Analytical Review he was induced to become a professional contributor, in consequence of his connexion with Mr. Johnson, of St. Paul's Church-yard, who now ranked as his chief bookseller, and was proprietor of the work. He began with its commencement, on May 1, 1788; and the very article with which it opens is of his own production. It is the first number of the critique on the *Variae Lectiones* of De Rossi; and from this time till September 1793 he supplied not less than forty-seven articles, the last of which is directed to an examination of Mr. Wakefield's *Silva Critica*. Confining himself almost exclusively, in these professional strictures, to biblical criticism and ecclesiastical history, the value of his contributions to the Analytical Review may be easily calculated, from the talents the reader must by this time allow him to have possessed, and the uninterrupted application of those talents to these very subjects. Truly desirable indeed would it be, and I mean not to be censorious in saying so, that every professional critic should be as well qualified for the task he undertakes: periodical reviews, which, when well conducted, are at all times valuable, would then be of incalculable advantage to every nation, by augmenting its knowledge and consummating its taste. But this it is in vain to expect: few, even among men of well deserved

literary reputation, are as comprehensively endowed; and of those few, seldom indeed is it that any one of them can be persuaded to submit to the drudgery of periodical criticism, even though the liberality of the proprietor leave the amount of remuneration to himself. Those who have been long engaged in the possession and superintendence of works of this description will readily admit the truth of this observation; for it is a part of the daily difficulties to which they are exposed, and for which they have a large claim upon the indulgence both of authors and the public. Dr. Geddes, in his connexion with the Analytical Review, during a period of five years and a half, accompanied it throughout its best days: and when the reader learns that its success was progressive as long as his assistance was extended to it, and that it gradually declined from the date of his secession, he will surely allow me, without the charge of undue panegyric, to attribute no small portion of its fairest reputation to himself. To make the memoirs of his writings as perfect as I am able, I have thrown into a note below * a catalogue of the ar-

Year. Vol. Month. Pag.

* Subscribed Letter.

1788	I	May	1	De Rossi Variæ Lectiones, 4 vol. 4to.	E
			12	Weston' Translation of the Song of Deborah, 4to.	A
			16	King's Morsels of Criticism, 4to.	R

ticles he contributed; of which his reviews of De Rossi's Various Lectures, and sir W. Jones's Asi-

Year.	Vol.	Month.	Pag.		Subscribed Letter.
			24	Priestley's Lectures on History, 4to.	R
	July		269	De Rossi Variæ Lectiones continued.	E
			294	Priestley's Lectures on History con.	R
	Appendix		530	Wilkins's Heetopades, 8vo.	R
			539	Newcome's Ezekiel, 4to.	E
	II	Nov.	274	Wilkins's Heetopades concluded.	R
			308	Hodgson's Proverbs.	E
			311	Priestley's Lectures on History con.	R
	Dec.		444	King's Morfels of Criticism con.	R
	Appendix		559	De Rossi Variæ Lectiones continued.	E
1789	III	Mar.	277	Campbell's Four Gospels, 2 vols. 4to.	R
			286	Wrighte's Explanation of two first Chapters of Genesis,	A
	April		443	Campbell's Four Gospels continued.	R
	Appendix		569	Levi's Lingua Sacra, 3 vols. 8vo.	A
			576	Levi on the Pentateuch, 5 vols. 8vo.	A
			578	Harmer's Observations, &c. vols. 3 nd 4, 8vo.	E
			581	Nisbett on Passages of the New Test- ament.	E
			583	Campbell's Four Gospels concluded.	R
			585	Wakefield's Translation of certain Parts of the New Testament, 8vo.	R
1789	IV	June	190	Cooke's Translation of the Revela- tions.	E
	July		337	Symonds's Observations on revising the present English Version of the Four Gospels and Acts, 4to.	R
	Aug.		459	Willis's Translation of the Actions of the Apostles, 8vo.	E

atic Researches form, in my opinion, the most elaborate excursions: while his minute and liberal detail of the English Roman Catholic controversy

Year.	Vol.	Month.	Pag.		Subscribed Letter.
	V	Oct.	171	Wakefield's Silva Critica, vol. 1. 8vo.	A
		Appendix	559	Delgado's Translation of Pentateuch, 4to.	R
1790	VI	Feb.	163	Jones's Asiatic Researches continued.	
				N. B. The former parts of the critique in Vol. V. 202 and 334 were by another hand.	
		Mar.	313	Ditto continued.	
		April	431	Ditto continued.	
	VII	June	209	Ditto concluded.	R
	VIII	Ap.	490	English Catholic Controversy.	A
			558	Hezel's Biblical and Religious Journal.	
1791	IX	Feb.	204	Dodson's Isaiah.	E
		Mar.	330	English Catholic Controversy continued. N. B. The last two pages 335 and 336 by another hand.	
		April	535	Seven Prophetical Periods, &c.	
			550	English Catholic Controversy contin.	
	X	May	66	Street's Psalms, 2 vols. 8vo.	R
		Appendix	522	English Catholic Controversy contin.	
	XI	Oct.	136	Mariti's Travels, 2 vols. 8vo.	D M
			186	Wakefield's Silva Critica, vol. 2.	
		Dec.	431	English Catholic Controversy.	
			442	Reflections on Duelling.	R
1792	XII	Mar.	326	Wakefield's Translation of the New Testament.	
	XIII	Ap.	497	Ditto concluded.	E
1793	XVII	Sep.	52	Codex Theod. Bezae, à Kipling.	E
		Appendix	499	Wakefield's Silva Critica, vol. 3.	A

constitutes the most valuable document relative to this transaction to which the polemic historian can apply for information, the Blue Books of the catholic committee alone excepted.

No new connexions or occasional digressions towards collateral subjects could induce our indefatigable scholar, however, to relax in his translation of the Bible; and in the beginning of the year 1788 he thought his labors sufficiently advanced, to warrant another and a more explicit Address to the Public upon this prime object of his pursuits. Accordingly, at this period, he published his "Proposals for printing by Subscription A New Translation of the Bible, from corrected Texts of the original; with various Readings, explanatory Notes, and critical Observations." His expectations of success were, at this time, very sanguine. "Such a translation," says he, "I have ventured to attempt, and to attempt alone: and I trust, through the bounty of that God whose ORACLES I have faithfully attempted to elucidate, and make more intelligible, that I shall be able to bring it to a conclusion." He had, indeed, reason to be sanguine; for a very numerous impression of his Proposals was sold off in the course of a few months; and before the end of the year he found it necessary to publish a new edition. In his Address to the Public, p. 8. he also makes mention of another edition

brought forward in the ensuing year : but of this impression I have seen no copy, and cannot tell, therefore, whether it varied in any respect from the two preceding. To each of these was subjoined a specimen of the undertaking. That of the earliest edition consisted of the first chapter of Genesis, with excerpts from Exodus and the sixteenth Psalm; the price of which was half a crown. At the suggestion of several friends, however, the Psalm and passages from Exodus were discontinued in the second impression, with a view of reducing the price to eighteen pence; and the first chapter of Genesis was alone preserved with its consecutive annotations.

Our author had, at this time, sustained a heavy and indeed irretrievable loss, by the death of those two prime ornaments of the established church, as well as chief promoters of his work, Dr. Ken- nicott and Dr. Lowth, from whose conjoint and pre-eminent abilities he expected to have derived very essential advantage in its prosecution; to whose opinions he would have yielded more implicitly than to the opinions of any other contemporary scholars; and from whose established credit and recommendation he would very considerably have augmented the number of his subscribers. His circle of literary friends and patrons, nevertheless, considerably increased: and he very cor-

dially embraces the opportunity offered him by the publication of his Proposals, of returning thanks, among other foreign correspondents, to Dr. Law, bishop of Killala; Mr. Barret, of Dublin; colonel Vallancy; Dr. Madan, agent for the church of the Canaries at Madrid; and the abbate Thomson, at Rome.

The principal conditions of the work, and which he now for the first time submitted to the public, were: that it should be completed in six large volumes in quarto; of which the four first should contain all the books of the Old Testament, including the Apocrypha; the fifth, the books of the New Testament; and the sixth, a general preface, with maps and indexes;—that the price of each volume to subscribers should be a guinea and a half:—that the first volume should be put to press as soon as the number of his subscribers amounted to a thousand:—and that the volumes should follow each other, as nearly as possible, at the distance of about eighteen months. Of the specimen appended to this tract I take no notice at present, as it will again fall under our consideration when we come to take a general survey of such part of the work at large as the author lived to execute. It excited, however, much discussion, both among Jews and Christians; and having asserted, in his Proposals, that if any respectable literary character would

suggest hints of improvement, or point out sources of information, with respect to the plan and execution of his work, he would, without pledging himself to adopt his opinions, receive them with thankfulness, and consider them with due attention—our author soon found himself so overwhelmed with packets of questions, criticisms, and advice, that, exclaiming with Erasmus, “*Tantis studiorum obruor laboribus, et innumerabilium epistolis sic undique provocor, ut singulis respondere non queam,*” he was compelled, in the course of a few months, to the publication of another tract, anterior to the appearance of the first volume of his version, which he brought forward in July 1790, and entitled “*Dr. Geddes’s General Answer to the Queries, Counsils and Criticisms that have been communicated to him since the Publication of his Proposals for printing a new Translation of the Bible.*”

In this pamphlet it is sufficient to remark, that while he resists the generality of the counsils and criticisms communicated to him, from motives which he very candidly assigns, he yields to several, and liberally expresses his obligations to the correspondents who proposed them. In replying to different orders of querists, he still discovers that high independence of spirit which was the peculiar characteristic of his disposition. To the question

from one of his own religious communion, whether his version had been approved by bishop Talbot, the vicar apostolic of the London district, *in which case he would willingly be a subscriber!* he replies as follows *: “ I never sought the approbation of bishop Talbot, or of any other bishop whomsoever. A bishop’s or even a pope’s approbation can give no intrinsic value to any work; and a work that has intrinsic value needs not their approbation. Whether mine be such or not, it is for the learned public to determine: and if their determination be favorable, not the sentence of a whole synod of bishops can reverse it. In any event, I will never walk in trammels, if I can avoid it; and least of all in mental trammels.—If *Roman* catholics are to read no books but such as are formally approved by a bishop, their libraries will not be very numerous, nor very costly. My querist, however, is not, I find, the only Roman catholic who is in the same disagreeable suspense: I must leave it to time to relieve them. Mean while I cannot help saying with a much greater man, *Quid autem ingratius quam pro tam immensis sudoribus vigiliisque, quas tantum juvandi animo susceperis, et quibus nulla par gratia referri queat, rependi calumniam; idque potis-*

* For this venerable prelate’s favorable opinion of his work, notwithstanding the warmth of this reply, the reader may consult the beginning of chap. xi.

simum ab iis, ad quos potissimum operis utilitas sit reditura?"

To the questions urged in consequence of his having allowed Dr. Priestley *to be a Christian*, "Sir, are you a Roman catholic? Sir, are *you* a Christian?" his reply possesses an equal portion of brilliancy and liberality. "To the latter of these queries," says he, "I answer positively and peremptorily: I am a 'CHRISTIAN.'—In order to give a just and *cautious* answer to the former, I must consult my old friend and countryman Duns Scotus. Now Duns Scotus instructs me (very properly) to make a distinction between the two terms; and to say: 'A CATHOLIC I am *absolutè*, a *Roman* catholic only *secundum quid*.'" If the querist understand Latin and logic, he will be at no loss to comprehend my answer; but in case he should be a mere English scholar, and for the sake of other English readers (if there be any) who may entertain any doubts about my *catholicity*, I will make my distinction as clear and explicit as he or they can wish.—If by the epithet *Roman* be only meant, holding communion with the see of Rome, and acknowledging the primacy of its bishop, I am certainly so far a *Roman* catholic: but in any other sense or respect I am no more a *Roman*, than I am a *French*, *German*, or *Spanish* catholic. If to the appellation *catholic* any discriminating adjunctive

were necessary, I would call myself a *British* catholic; but I rather adhere to the simple declaration of an ancient martyr: 'CHRISTIAN is my name, and CATHOLIC my surname.' "

Such replies, however, and such perpetual declarations in private life, for never was there a man who at all times more openly displayed the whole interior of his mind than Dr. Geddes, were not likely to obtain for him any great share of popularity within the pale of his own church. And it is equally to the credit of protestants, and the disgrace of catholics, that although his labors, as he ever most openly and honestly avowed, were originally and principally designed for the benefit of the latter, they were principally promoted by the former. In answer, therefore, to another question, "what encouragement he had met with from the established church, from the protestant dissenters, and from those of his own communion?" "As truth," says he, "ought never to be ashamed, I will tell the truth. From the two first denominations I have received more, from the last less, encouragement than I had reason to expect. Our Saviour says, 'A prophet is no where unhonored but in his own country.' It may in like manner happen that an interpreter be no where less honored than in his own communion. While the Jews gave a favorable testimony to the merit of

Jerom's version, his Christian brethren (whom he called his dogs) were tearing it in pieces."

This answer is, indeed, fully confirmed by a glance at the names of the subscribers, introduced alphabetically at the end of the pamphlet; in which list his catholic friends bear no proportion to those of the protestant faith. The whole number of copies subscribed for at this time, an account of which had actually reached him, appears, from this document, to have been not less than three hundred and forty-three: which, considering the heavy expense of the entire work, and how short was the period that had elapsed since the publication of his Proposals, was sufficient to afford him every hope of complete and speedy success. Naturally sanguine, and believing, with much reason, that many other names had been subscribed, of which he had hitherto obtained no notice from his different agents, we cannot wonder at his having precipitated himself into his favorite publication, with a greater degree of haste than mere worldly prudence would perhaps have dictated. "Although," says he, towards the close of this pamphlet, "my list of subscribers is not yet nearly full; yet relying on the generosity of an enlightened PUBLIC, and trusting that my work will, sooner or later, meet with its approbation, I have ventured to send it to the press before the time stipulated in

my conditions. Ten sheets of the first volume are actually printed, and the rest shall follow with as little interruption as possible." His object, most unquestionably, was not gain. It was the true desire of doing good, in the most important sense of the term, combined with a laudable aspiration after the applause of the wise and the worthy, without some portion of which few men will labor, and none obtain success. "My soul, thank heaven," says he in the same pamphlet, "is not a mercenary one; I expect not excessive profits even from excessive exertions: I trust I shall never want meat, and clothes, and fire: to a philosophic and contented mind what more is necessary?" Few men, indeed, could have burst with more cordiality into the celebrated apostrophe of the Epicurean poet, *De Rer. Nat.* ii. 14.

*O miseras hominum menteis ! ô pectora cæca !
Qualibus in tenebris vitæ, quantisque periculis
Degitur hocc' ævi, quodquomque est ! nonne videre est
Nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi ut, quoi
Corpore sejunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur
Jocundo sensu, cura semota, metuque !*

*O wretched mortals ! race perverse and blind !
Mid what dread dark, what perilous pursuits
Spend ye your destined hours !—Know, know ye not,
Of all ye toil for, nature nothing craves
But, for the body, freedom from disease,
And sweet, unanxious quiet for the mind !*

CHAPTER VI.

Application of the English catholics to the legislature for additional relief in the matter of præmunire—The protest and oath proposed on this occasion—Controversy among the body of the catholics upon this subject—Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Comana—Dr. Geddes replies to it—First and second Encyclical Letters of the Vicars Apostolic—Dr. Geddes republishes the latter, with a continued and sarcastic commentary—Progress of the bill through both houses of parliament; it passes, and receives the royal assent—Termination of the controversy; and advantages gained to the catholic community by this additional act in their favor. A. D. 1790—1791.

AT this period the attention of our author was also directed to another and a very important subject; but one in which from his previous habits of study, and especially his profound knowledge of popish polemics, he was eminently qualified to take an active part. The act introduced by sir George Saville in 1778, in favor of Roman catholics, noticed in a former chapter, had been productive of the happiest effects. This, indeed, notwithstanding the popular fermentation which had followed it, might readily have been pre-conceived

upon the common grounds of human conduct: for, as persecution for religious principles serves only to render the persecuted more inveterate in their prejudices, and progressively to alienate their affections from the government under which they suffer; religious toleration is the most effectual step that can be taken to generate a spirit of patriotic love, and to enlarge and enlighten the prejudiced understanding. While the catholics of England lay under the pressure of the whole system of the penal laws of præmunire, they remained obstinately attached to foreign powers and the most dangerous doctrines: they were generally Jacobites and papists in the worst sense of these words. But in proportion as this system of intolerance had become obsolete, and had ceased to be acted upon with severity—and more especially since its partial revocation by the Saville act, they began to open their eyes to political truths and falsehoods, and to approximate their fellow citizens in charity and liberality of sentiments.—Conscious of this change in their own body, and believing that government was as conscious of it as themselves, they meditated greater and more advantageous changes still; and aimed at giving to parliament such convincing proofs of their honest recantation or total disbelief of every obnoxious doctrine, as to obtain a title for being put into possession of as plenary a tole-

ration as any other class of dissenters from the national church. With a view of accomplishing this important point, as well as that of procuring bishops in ordinary, and a college at home for the education of their youth, they had now for some time established general annual associations in London, whence select committees were periodically chosen to superintend their common interests, and manage their common concerns.

It was in 1787 that the committee thus appointed appears to have entertained for the first time the idea of a second application to parliament: and having communicated their views to the body at large, they applied officially to Mr. Pitt, and several other leaders of administration, to know whether the toleration they were solicitous of obtaining might not be extended to them, upon subscription of a new and more comprehensive avowal of their political sentiments, as also to inquire what kind of an avowal might be deemed satisfactory for this purpose. The result was, that a full and explicit declaration of their political and religious opinions was speedily proposed, drawn up, and signed by the four vicars apostolic and their coadjutors; by above nine hundred of the principal laity, and by almost all the clergy in the kingdom, abjuring in the most solemn manner the pope's infallibility, his power of deposing kings, of absolving from

oaths—and every other doctrine which might incapacitate them from becoming liege and cordial citizens of a protestant state *.

* The following is a verbal copy of the Declaration and Protestation referred to :

“ We whose names are hereunto subscribed, catholics of England, do freely, voluntarily, and of our own accord, make the following solemn Declaration and Protestation.

“ Whereas sentiments unfavorable to us as citizens and subjects have been entertained by English protestants, on account of principles which are asserted to be maintained by us and other catholics, and which principles are dangerous to society, and totally repugnant to political and civil liberty ;—it is a duty that we, the English catholics, owe to our country as well as to ourselves, to protest, in a formal and solemn manner, against doctrines that we condemn, and that constitute no part whatever of our principles, religion, or belief.

“ We are the more anxious to free ourselves from such imputations, because divers protestants, who profess themselves to be real friends to liberty of conscience, have, nevertheless, avowed themselves hostile to us, on account of certain opinions which we are supposed to hold. And we do not blame those protestants for their hostility, if it proceeds (as we hope it does) not from an intolerant spirit in matters of religion, but from their being misinformed as to matters of fact.

“ If it were true that we, the English catholics, had adopted the maxims that are erroneously imputed to us, we acknowledge that we should merit the reproach of being dangerous enemies to the state ; but we detest those unchristian-like and execrable maxims : and we severally claim, in common with men of all other religions, as a matter of natural justice, that we, the English catholics, ought not to suffer for or on ac-

According to the tenor of this declaration, and notwithstanding the recent discomfiture of the pro-

count of any wicked or erroneous doctrines that may be held by any other catholics; which doctrines we publicly disclaim; any more than British protestants ought to be rendered responsible for any dangerous doctrines that may be held by any other protestants, which doctrines they, the British protestants, disavow.

“ 1st, We have been accused of holding, as a principle of our religion, that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or other persons.

“ But so far is the above-mentioned unchristian-like and abominable position from being a principle that we hold, that we reject, abhor, and detest it, and every part thereof, as execrable and impious; and we do solemnly declare, That neither the pope, either with or without a general council, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, can absolve the subjects of this realm, or any of them, from their allegiance to his majesty king George the Third, who is, by authority of parliament, the lawful king of this realm, and of all the dominions thereunto belonging.

“ 2d, We have also been accused of holding, as a principle of our religion, That implicit obedience is due from us to the orders and decrees of popes and general councils; and that therefore, if the pope, or any general council, should, for the good of the church, command us to take up arms against government, or by any means to subvert the laws and liberties of this country, or to exterminate persons of a different persuasion from us, we (it is asserted by our accusers) hold ourselves bound to obey such orders or decrees, on pain of eternal fire:

“ Whereas we positively deny, that we owe any such obedi-

testant dissenters *, a petition was drawn up, and presented to both houses of parliament; and upon

* As I have stated a few pages back that the Roman catholics did not conceive themselves to have been used in a very friendly manner by the publications of several of the protestant dissenters, during the time of their own application to parliament, it is but just that I should notice the liberality of the conduct of the latter upon the present occasion. The catholic committee speak of it with much gratitude in the following terms: "That part of our fellow subjects, from whose prepossessions we had most reason to dread opposition to our relief, were, after they had considered our protest, cordially reconciled to the equity of the measure. The protestant dissenters surrendered, by immediate conviction, every ancient jealousy and suspicion, and gave us their good wishes and support." Blue Books, No. III. page 8. Letter to the Catholics of England.

ence to the pope and general council, or to either of them ; and we believe that no act that is in itself immoral or dishonest can ever be justified by or under color that it is done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatever. We acknowledge no infallibility in the pope ; and we neither apprehend nor believe, that our disobedience to any such orders or decrees (should any such be given or made) could subject us to any punishment whatever. And we hold and insist, That the catholic church has no power that can, directly or indirectly, prejudice the rights of protestants, inasmuch as it is strictly confined to the refusing to them a participation in her sacraments and other religious privileges of her communion, which no church (as we conceive) can be expected to give to those out of her pale, and which no person out of her pale will, we suppose, ever require.

a manifestation by the legislature of a disposition to attend to the petition, a bill was instantly pre-

“ And we do solemnly declare, That no church, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, hath, have, or ought to have any jurisdiction or authority whatsoever within this realm, that can, directly or indirectly, affect or interfere with the independence, sovereignty, laws, constitution, or government thereof; or the rights, liberties, persons, or properties of the people of the said realm, or of any of them, save only and except by the authority of parliament; and that any such assumption of power would be an usurpation.

“ 3d, We have likewise been accused of holding, as a principle of our religion, That the pope, by virtue of his spiritual power, can dispense with the obligations of any compact or oath taken or entered into by a catholic: that therefore no oath of allegiance, or other oath, can bind us; and, consequently, that we can give no security for our allegiance to any government.

“ There can be no doubt but that this conclusion would be just, if the original proposition upon which it is founded were true; but we positively deny that we do hold any such principle. And we do solemnly declare, That neither the pope, nor any prelate, nor any priest, nor any assembly of prelates or priests, nor any ecclesiastical power whatever, can absolve us, or any of us, from, or dispense with, the obligations of any compact or oath whatsoever.

“ 4th, We have also been accused of holding as a principle of our religion, that not only the pope, but even a catholic priest, has power to pardon the sins of catholics at his will and pleasure; and therefore, that no catholic can possibly give any security for his allegiance to any government, inasmuch as the pope, or a priest, can pardon perjury, rebellion, and high-treason.

pared, and a new oath grounded upon the principles of the protest was introduced into it, to be taken by all those catholics, or, as they were de-

“ We acknowledge also the justness of this conclusion, if the proposition upon which it is founded were not totally false. But we do solemnly declare, That, on the contrary, we believe that no sin whatever can be forgiven at the will of any pope, or of any priest, or of any person whomsoever ; but that a sincere sorrow for past sin, a firm resolution to avoid future guilt, and every possible atonement to God and the injured neighbour, are the previous and indispensable requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness.

“ 5th, And we have also been accused of holding as a principle of our religion, That ‘ no faith is to be kept with heretics ;’ so that no government which is not catholic can have any security from us for our allegiance and peaceable behaviour.

“ This doctrine, that ‘ faith is not to be kept with heretics,’ we reject, reprobate, and abhor, as being contrary to religion, morality, and common honesty :—and we do hold and solemnly declare, That no breach of faith with any person whomsoever can be justified by reason of or under pretence that such person is an heretic or an infidel.

“ And we further solemnly declare, That we do make this Declaration and Protestation, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of the same, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever.

“ And we appeal to the justice and candor of our fellow-citizens, whether we, the English catholics, who thus solemnly disclaim, and from our hearts abhor, the above-mentioned abominable and unchristian-like principles, ought to be put upon a level with any other men who may hold and profess those principles ?”

nominated in the bill, protesting catholic dissenters, who should be entitled to the additional indulgence hereby to be secured to them *.

* The following is a copy of the Oath, which like that of the Protest I have inserted at length, as well for a comparison with each other, as to give some official statement of the real principles of the generality of English catholics in the present day :

“ I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty king George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever that shall be made against his person, crown, or dignity, and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them ; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support and defend, to the utmost of my power, against any person or persons whomsoever, the succession of the crown *in the family of his majesty* †,

† “ I think the words scored under too large and unqualified. In the 6th of Anne, chap. 7. sect. 20. the oath appointed to be taken after the queen's death was to maintain the succession of the crown as it stood limited by the 11th and 12th William III. ch. 2. to the princess Sophia, electress and duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being protestants. Here too, in like manner, I recommend a reference to the same act for settlement of the crown. F. H.

“ In the same act of queen Anne the oath so prescribed is with a blank, for the name of the king or queen on the throne for the time being, and the oath is followed with a clause, directing how the blank is to be filled up from time to time. This appears to me a more correct and complete mode of framing and adjusting the oath than is here adopted ; because it provides for adapting the language of the oath according to the time present, and so renders a future act for altering the oath, on the accession of every prince, unnecessary.

F. H.”

The English catholic community, which is divided into four districts instead of dioceses, the London, or, as it is sometimes called, the southern, the middle, the northern, and the western, had at this time for their four official prelates, or vicars

against any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms : And I do swear that I do reject and detest, as an unchristian and impious position, that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics : and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. I further declare, That it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any authority of the see of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any person whatsoever : And I do declare that I do not believe that the pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm. And I do solemnly, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, or any person whatever, and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the pope, or any person, or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null or void."

apostolic, James Talbot, superintendant of the first, Thomas Talbot of the second, Matthew Gibson of the third, and Charles Walmfley of the fourth: and as in almost every heretical country, excepting Ireland, which still retains a regular and independent hierarchy, the old prelatic titles have been dropped, and new ones adopted in their stead, taken from the unconverted regions of Africa or Asia, where hopes are entertained that churches may hereafter be formed—the first of these vicars apostolic was dignified, by the papal chair, with that of bishop of Birta; the second, of Acone; the third, of Comana; and the fourth, of Rama.

When the bill was drawn up, and the oath introduced into it by an eminent lawyer, I believe Mr. Butler of Lincoln's Inn, it was not deemed necessary by the committee to whom the whole was submitted, that it should be communicated individually to each of these prelates. The oath was founded upon the principles of the protest which had been subscribed by all of them; and the chief object of its framer appears to have been, in order to avoid every shadow of opposition, to make the verbiage of the oath less strong than that of the protest, which the reader, by a careful comparison, will find he has actually accomplished. In several instances, and upon its submission to the committee, it received the full and deliberate approbation of

one of these prelates, bishop James Talbot, who was present; as well as of bishop Charles Berington, (a prelate unappointed to the care of an English district;) and of Dr. Joseph Wilks*.

* In strict chronology the original bill was drawn up even prior to the protestation, which was compiled in consequence of the advice of a very warm and zealous parliamentary friend: and in the first draft of the bill there was no such objectionable appellation as that of *protesting catholic dissenters* introduced, nor was the oath in any respect different from that of the statute of 18th Geo. III. The advantage of the protestation to the catholic cause soon became highly obvious; and the friend who proposed the protest now proposed also, that instead of the oath of 18th Geo. III. the committee should introduce a new one founded on the verbiage of the declaration and protestation. The business pressed; and the vicar of the London district declared himself competent to pronounce upon it. The three clergymen who acceded to it, in the name of the body at large, had been chosen by ballot, and added to the committee at a general meeting convened on May 15, 1788. Being thus incorporated into the committee, these three gentlemen, bishop James Talbot, bishop Charles Berington, and Dr. Joseph Wilks, attended its meetings regularly; approved, as I have already observed, of the different alterations in the bill, and more particularly of the newly suggested oath, as it was occasionally varied by the person whose office it was to prepare the public acts of parliament; and when, on November 19, the whole was completed, gave it their entire sanction; and so scrupulous was bishop Talbot upon the subject, that he requested to examine it at home, where he kept it for two days; declaring, when he returned it, that he saw nothing in it contrary to faith or good morals—nothing in the oath that a catho-

The pride of Walmsley and Gibson, of whom the former was a Benedictine monk, and the latter had received a bigoted education in the papal college of Douay, was nevertheless violently inflamed by the conduct of the committee, in not consulting them upon this individual point; and they resolved to consider it as a neglect altogether intentional, and derogatory to their episcopal character. This being determined upon, the next thing was to find fault with the oath itself; and to persuade all the Jacobinical and inflammatory monks and friars in the kingdom, and who had from the first opposed the whole attempt, to unite in their meditated opposition. The trumpet of zealotism was sounded; the alarm became general in every quarter. They succeeded wonderfully in both respects: bishop James Talbot, who was at this time laboring under a dangerous disease, which destroyed him a

lic might not safely take. Upon this subject the committee contended that the original draft alone was the bill of their own body. "Whatever deviations or alterations appear to have been made from this, none of them were devised, or even thought of, by the committee. All originated with others, and were received by us, not by choice, but necessity. Against many of them we have striven with the greatest earnestness and anxiety; and if we have at last acquiesced in them, it has been from a thorough conviction that all our hopes of relief depended upon our acquiescence." Letter to the Right Rev. John, Bishop of Centuria. Blue Books, No. II. p. 2.

few days afterwards, was persuaded to retract his approbation, and to join in an encyclical letter of condemnation. The oath was objected to generally, yet not specifically; but the clause in which the epithet *heretical* is applied to the doctrine, that kings excommunicated by the pope may be deposed by their subjects, seems to have been peculiarly obnoxious; concerning which the objectors declared, with equal ignorance of all the principles of logic, and of their own ecclesiastical history, that while they were ready to denominate the doctrine *false, seditious, traitorous, and damnable*, they could not call it *heretical*, as it had never been defined to be heresy by the church of Rome*.

*“ With respect to its being *heretical* (the doctrine here adverted to) we beg to call your attention to the distinction in the schools between a *material* and a *formal* heresy. A doctrine contrary to the word of God, if it have not been expressly condemned as such by the authority of the church, is said to be *materially* heretical.—When it has been expressly condemned as such by authority of the church, it is said to be *formally* heretical.—In the oath of allegiance, prescribed by the statute of James the First, is the following clause: ‘ And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position—That princes which be excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever.’ Pope Paul the Fifth by three briefs reprobated this oath. The divines of the university of Paris being consulted upon it, fifty-nine of them were of opinion that the catholics of England might take it with a safe conscience, without renouncing their faith: ‘ The proposition, so far as it as-

In this dispute, a man of the irritable feelings of Dr. Geddes could not avoid taking a part; and the knowledge which the reader must already have acquired of the liberality of his principles and the independence of his mind, will instantaneously

serts that princes may be deposed, being *materially*, that is, in substance, heretical; and so far as it asserts that they may be murdered, being *formally*, that is, expressly pronounced by the church, heretical.' See Dr. Hooke's *Religionis Naturalis et Revelatæ Principia*, vol. iii. p. 581.—In the oath proposed to the catholics of Ireland, in 1775, the third article runs as follows: 'I further profess that it is no part of my belief, nay, that I reject the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the pope, or by the pope and council, or by any authority of the see of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or put to death by their subjects, or by any other person whatsoever: and therefore I promise that I will not hold, maintain, or countenance that, or any other opinion contrary to the words of this declaration.' The Sorbonne, being consulted upon this oath, gave their opinion, dated 6th Nov. 1775, signed by all the doctors. Upon the article in question they thus express themselves:

“ ‘ Doctrina autem de cæde & depositione principum, nequaquam probabilibus sententiis annumeranda est: cum in duplex vitium incurrat: ut nempe sit hæretica *materialiter*, id est, verbo Dei contraria, quatenus deponi posse principem effert; *formaliter* vero etiam, quatenus et occidi posse superaddit.’

“ ‘ But the king-killing and deposing doctrine is not to be classed among opinions merely probable. Upon two accounts it is bad.—It is *materially* heretical, i. e. *contrary* to the *word of God*, so far as it asserts the lawfulness of deposing princes: it is moreover *formally* heretical, so far as it superadds the lawfulness of putting them to death.’” Blue Books, No. I. p. 7.

point out to him the side he would necessarily espouse. He wrote two pamphlets upon the occasion, of which each was printed anonymously, as were many others published at that time by different authors, on both sides of the controversy. It was also generally believed, that he took a part in three other pamphlets, which contained addresses both to the bishops and to the catholic community at large; and which, from their having been bound in blue covers, were known at the Vatican by the name of *The Blue Books*: but I have been fully informed, as well by the doctor himself, as by one of the actual authors, that with these tracts he had no concern whatever: their merit, nevertheless, is well known to have been great, and their fame to have been in proportion*. The first was signed by seven of the committee, bishop Charles Berington, Dr. Joseph Wilks, the late lord Petre, John Throckmorton (now sir John Throckmorton baronet), William Fermor, John Townely, and Thomas Hornyold, esquires; and the two succeeding by the same, together with three additional members, lord Stourton, sir H. C. Englefield, and Mr. Lawson.

The first of the two pamphlets, which I have ascertained to have been the production of Dr. Geddes, is entitled “An Answer to the Bishop of Comana’s Pastoral Letter, by a protesting Catholic.”

* They were the joint production of the rev. Dr. Joseph Wilks of Bath, and Charles Butler, esq. of Lincoln’s-Inn.

It was published by Faulder, and dated 1790. The pastoral letter referred to had been addressed to all the clergy secular and regular, and to all the faithful of the northern district, being the district, as I have already observed, to which the bishop of Comana had been appointed by the Roman pontiff. This answer is a sarcastic comment upon the letter, which is introduced into the same pamphlet, and runs in larger characters at the head of every page. The bishop's object in this letter was to represent the oath as "impenetrably obscure, and impervious to the piercing eyes of the keenest theology;" and as deviating from all the laudable marks by which an oath should be distinguished; "which," continues his lordship, "its obligation being most awful, ought to be, in the first place, *clear*; secondly, *true*; and thirdly, *necessary*." He also, in the severest terms, reprehends the new appellation of *protesting catholic dissenters*, by which the supporters of the bill had consented to be denominated; asserting, in conjunction with another writer on the same side, that the term *catholic dissenters* "is, in the universal language and judgment of the catholic church, in all past ages, as great a solecism, as complete nonsense, as Christian Turks, or catholic infidels:" and adds, that the unanimous condemnation of the oath by the four vicars apostolic in England had perfectly accorded with the declared sentiments of a number of foreign prelates and ecclesiastics, and among the

rest, of his eminence cardinal B—n C——gni*,
 “who,” continues the addresser, “is much attached to this nation, and completely conversant in the English language.”

It must be confessed, that in this letter there is little argument or solid ground of opposition. Where these occur, Dr. Geddes, in his answer, presses them, and very successfully, with similar arms: but having seldom an opportunity of engaging in close combat, he plies his antagonist more generally with the lighter artillery of wit and satire. These weapons are for the most part handled with dexterity; though I think in some instances they shoot rather too low, and discover some portion of our author’s constitutional irritability. There is also, if I mistake not, in the answer, too large an abundance of special pleading or mere verbal logic. Yet occasionally even this latter mode of attack is employed with good effect, and especially in defending the appellation of *protesting catholic dissenters*. “We do not ‘plume’ ourselves upon the appellation of *protesting catholic dissenters*; but we are not ashamed of it. We are CATHOLICS;—we PROTEST against odious doctrines imputed to CATHOLICS, and (we are sorry to see it) still patronized by some catholics. We are DISSENTERS, because we dissent in religion from the national church.—If all this, my lord, be not clear to your intellect,

* Buon Campagni, as I suppose.

I sincerely pity your lordship's intellect. If we are found to have *protested* against any article of catholic faith, or maxim of gospel-morality, we will immediately exclude these from the subject of our protestation.—‘The period is probably at some distance.’—“But it is asked (*say you*), Are we not dissenters from the church of England in certain points of faith?—Ans. Most certainly ‘not!’ This is a strange answer, my lord; one of those unexpected answers that confound one with astonishment. It is a sort of logical paradox, which the bulk of mankind will hardly be able to comprehend, even with your lordship's illustrations. Is it really true, then, my lord, that we do not, in some points of faith, *dissent* from the church of England? Is it true that we believe all that is contained in the *thirty-nine articles* of the national creed? If this be not true, ‘as most certainly’ it is not, then we must necessarily be *dissenters*, in some points, from the church of England.

“But ‘no,’ says your lordship; ‘we are not dissenters from the church of England in the *ecclesiastical* force of the word, which here ought to be our rule;’—although I must confess that I cannot for my soul comprehend the *force* or meaning of this curious proposition, ‘the ecclesiastical *force* of the word is to be our *rule*.’ I will suppose that you probably intended to say, *that in religious matters we are never to use a term which has not been used*

before by ecclesiastical writers in the same sense. If so, you would establish an inquisition more tyrannical and arbitrary than that of Spain or Portugal! Should you or I, my lord, urged to embrace the established religion, write a treatise to shew, that, as catholics, we cannot do it, because there are points of doctrine in the established religion to which, as catholics, we *cannot assent*; would we for that cease to be catholics? But *not to assent*, my lord, is, both in *ecclesiastical* and *civil* language, perfectly equipollent to *dissent*. *Dissent*, then, and all its derivatives, may be lawfully used even in matters purely religious and ecclesiastical.

“ But the matter now before us is not a religious matter, as I said before; but in as far as it is connected with an oath which disclaims falsely *imputed* religious principles, it is a matter of policy and law; and, if the terms must not be taken in the language of common sense, in the language of the law they must be taken.

“ To this expedient it seems your lordship would drive us: for you will not allow us to be even *grammatically* dissenters! Your proof is truly admirable: ‘Error is defined a deviation or dissent from the standard of truth.’ Granted, my lord; but every *dissent* is not an *error*. *I widely dissent* from your *lordship* in the present controversy; yet I trust I have not ‘deviated’ from the ‘standard of truth;’ unless your lordship be that standard!

“It was not *error*, my lord, that you had to define, it was *dissent* : and of that you have given no definition at all. I will do it for you. To *dissent*, my lord, is *to disagree in opinion* ; *dissent* is *a disagreement in opinion*, and *dissenter* is one *who disagrees in opinion* with another : and a *catholic dissenter* is a catholic who disagrees in opinion with those of the established religion. This, my lord, is all that a grammarian can ever make out of the word *dissent*.

“But your lordship seems to despise grammar, even when you appeal to it. Your definition of error is manifestly erroneous. Error may be a *deviation*, but cannot be a *dissent*, from the standard of truth. We do not *dissent* from a standard, my lord ; we *desert* it : and you may with equal propriety say to *dissent* from a *may-pole* as to *dissent* from a *standard*.—Your continuation is all of a piece, my lord : *qualis ab incepto*. ‘Error presupposes the existence of truth : of course a church founded on the sandy basis of error is to be styled the [*a*] dissenting church.’ Therefore, the English catholics, who *dissent* from the errors of the church of England, cannot grammatically be styled *catholic dissenters* ! No where, my lord, do we style ourselves *the dissenting church* ; nor even *a dissenting church*. We consider ourselves as a small, a very small portion of the *one true catholic church* ; *dissent-*

ing from (i. e. disagreeing in some religious points with) the greater number of our fellow citizens; who, as we think, have erected the ‘standard of error.’ Can we be blamed for this, my lord?— ‘It revolts common sense to admit that *truth* can be at the same time prior and posterior to itself.’ It does so, my lord, but it is equally revolting to common sense to infer, from this, that an *orthodox catholic* may not dissent from a *beterodox church*. The whole of your lordship’s paragraph is such a flagrant paralogism, as cries for logical vengeance. Nor is your champion, my lord, a much better reasoner. *Christian infidels* would undoubtedly ‘be a solecism:’ but why should *Christian Turks* be one, any more than *Christian Tartars*, or *Christian Armenians*, or *Christian Englishmen*? Do we not daily pray for their conversion? And in the supposition that but a few of them were converted, could not that few call themselves *dissenters* from the established religion of Turkey? Nay, my lord, were not the first christians themselves *dissenters* from the established idolatrous religion of the whole Roman empire? And do not our best apologists give their reasons for that *dissent*?”

The doctor might have added, that the term was not of their own creation. It was adopted by government to avoid the old and more odious appellation of popish recusants, by which alone

they had been hitherto characterized by the legislature. Had it, however, been forced upon them, as there was no intrinsic evil in the phraseology, and they were still at liberty to explain it as they chose, it must have manifested the height of folly to have refused a solid blessing, because accompanied with an unpalatable but empty sound—*vox et præterea nihil*. Yet the term was not, I confess, logically correct; since constituting a part of an *older* communion than the established church of England, they could not strictly speaking be said to *dissent*, however they might *differ*, from that which was created posterior to their own existence.

“Ye have an unquestionable right, my lord, you and your venerable brethren, to declare your sentiments on this or any other oath that may be proposed. It is not of this that we complain. I do not here even examine, whether the sentiments ye have lately given be ‘impartial and unprejudiced,’ or the contrary; but we complain, and complain with justice, that ye have acted the part of judges who condemn a man without hearing, without conviction, and without even specifying his crime; an omission, my lord, which no ENGLISH tribunal but YOURS would be guilty of. No wonder, then, if the committee feelingly ‘regretted that none of those persons who had been concerned

in promoting and conducting the business were called in to explain their sentiments.' Those feelings, my lord, the committee have expressed in terms much more moderate than your lordship's conduct deserved. The committee is composed of respectable, intelligent, and learned personages, chosen at a general meeting of English catholics to act for the whole body. Two bishops and a priest are of the number. Nothing could exceed the harmony and unanimity that prevailed among them. Nothing was done with precipitation. Bishop James Talbot, who at first made some objections to the *form*, not the *matter*, of the oath, was requested to consider it at leisure. He returned at the end of two days, and declared that he found nothing in it which a catholic might not swear to. How he was afterwards induced to change his opinion you best know; but I know, and the public should know, that at the period of your meeting, bishop James Talbot was not in a proper condition to do any sort of business either spiritual or temporal. At this moment the good man is, perhaps, no more; but it was most cruel in you, my lord, to take advantage of his then situation, to make him sign the condemnation of an oath, which in his full senses he had approved!—Were I a TALBOT, my

lord, I could not help resenting so great an injury done to the meanest of the name!

“But, supposing that B. J. T. had relinquished his own opinion, and adopted yours, in the full possession of his memory and judgment; and that, in the most healthful state of mind and body, he had agreed with you in deciding against the oath, and signing its condemnation; still, my lord, your conduct would be unjustifiable, and your sentence nugatory, for want of *FORMALITY*, and for want of *QUALIFICATION*.”

Our author, as the reader will readily perceive, was not of a timid disposition: the conduct and opinions of individual prelates, though of his own community, were to him but the conduct and opinions of individual men; and, as he tells us in another place, he was not afraid of grappling in the cause of truth, either with prelates or with popes. In the following passage there is a distinction which the doctor was always urgent to bring forwards, and which cannot be too forcibly impressed upon the minds of protestants.

“The enlightened and well principled catholic,” your lordship observes, “remains unshaken and unseduced.” Certainly, my lord. But who is the *enlightened and well-principled catholic*? This is yet to be demonstrated. The *CATHOLIC* reli-

gion not only permits its children to be dutiful subjects, but expressly commands them to be such: but not so, my lord, the POPISH religion. These two ought never to be confounded. The former is a most amiable matron, who inculcates nothing on the minds of her children but the peaceful maxims of the gospel; the latter is an ambitious termagant, who has often encouraged her children to commit almost every sort of crime. It was the POPISH, not the CATHOLIC religion, my lord, which (not to go out of our own country, nor back to a remote period) could in 1537 excite 20,000 men, under the conduct of a monk, to rise in rebellion against Henry VIII. in consequence of his subjects having been freed from their oaths of allegiance by a bull of Paul III. It was the same POPISH religion that, in 1539, attempted to depose the same king, and place on his throne the dean of Exeter*. It was this religion that sent Radulpho into England in 1568, for the vile purpose of corrupting the loyalty of the English catholics, and to pave the way for the famous bull of Pius V. which deprived queen Elizabeth of her title, dominion, dignity, and privileges; and forbade all her subjects, under pain of *anathema*, to obey her! It was this religion that, the very next year, again erected the standard of

* Afterwards cardinal Pole.

sedition under the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and their want of success, the Popish Surrius thinks, might have been owing to this, *that the papal denunciation had not been sufficiently made known to all the catholics* *. It was this religion that, in 1580, sent Parsons and Campian into England, with the qualified bull of Gregory XIII. which, in the hands of those two artful men, was deemed a surer mean of raising a successful rebellion, than the more violent one of his predecessor. It was this religion that, in 1588, sent the Spanish armada to invade England, fraught with a powerful army, plenty of money, and treasures of indulgences, for the purpose of dethroning a queen, against whom Sixtus V. had confirmed all the censures of Pius and Gregory; and granted a full pardon to all who should embark in the holy enterprize! In short, my lord, I make no hesitation to affirm that the POPISH (not the CATHOLIC) religion has been, mediately or immediately, the cause of almost all the political disturbances in Europe, since the days of Gregory VII. It is against this religion, my lord, that we CATHOLIC DISSENTERS protest;

* Non illos habuere successus conatus illorum nobilium, fortassis quod catholicis omnibus ea denuntiatio necdum innotuisset.

and whose interests ye VICARS APOSTOLIC appear to be contending for!"

The passage of the pastoral letter here referred to ought to be quoted, because it will at once prove the propriety of the distinction between the catholic and popish religion as just stated, and indelibly stamp his lordship's memory with the worst characteristics of the latter.

"The whole nation hath long been witness, our inveterate enemies have long been unwilling witnesses to our uniform and exemplary discharge of every civil and social duty; peaceable comportment towards our fellow subjects of all denominations; prompt obedience to the civil laws of our country; submission to temporal government, unabated by the unrelenting rigour of cruel and oppressive statutes. Every species of temptation hath been held out to shake our principles, and seduce us from the sacred paths of duty. A papal dispensation, a single act of mental reservation, or *meritorious kind* of perjury, would have put a final period to our miseries; opened the avenues to places of public trust and authority; unfolded the gates to honours, emoluments, and preferments. *The enlightened and well-principled* CATHOLIC remains unshaken and unseduced; choosing rather to sit quietly under his own vine or his own fig-tree, than by offering violence

to his conscience, wield *the sword of magistracy*, (and) rise to the highest rank or most elevated station."

Here we find a priest, a prelate, a vicar apostolic, presiding over a district of England, still inculcating to his inferior clergy and his flock the antiquated doctrines of *papal dispensations*, of *mental reservations*, of MERITORIOUS PERJURIES!! a man who had actually signed the protest which declares, in the plain and obvious meaning of the words themselves, that the entire principle upon which the whole of these doctrines are founded was *false, unchristian-like, abominable, execrable, and impious*, though he would not add, or rather he would not swear, it was *heretical*.

Bishop Gibson must surely have been a most sturdy papist in the strictest sense of the term: the zealous precepts he had imbibed at the college at Douay, which is I believe entirely dependent upon the Roman see, had not been inculcated in vain: and it is difficult to conceive upon what grounds he could possibly have induced himself to sign the protest, excepting upon those very grounds of *papal dispensation, mental reservation, and meritorious perjury*, which he here covertly justifies, and which in the protest he had subscribed he pledges himself to have abjured by his hopes of eternal salvation. Unquestionably such a man, or

such a body of men, ought not to be confounded with others, who, like Dr. Geddes, although they admitted the supremacy of the pope as a spiritual lord primate, abhorred as much as the most bigoted protestant (for every communion has its bigots) the doctrines here once more revived of papal dispensations, &c. and maintained, for I have heard the doctor maintain it repeatedly, that the man who, as a principle of action, admitted the personal infallibility of the pope, upon which alone this entire system of absurdity depends, could not safely be entrusted with any municipal office whatever, whether in a protestant or even a catholic country; since being the mere instrument and tool of the sovereign pontiff, were another tyrant like Gregory VII. or Paul III. to fill the papal chair, and aspire in a similar manner after the universal domination of Europe, no command could issue from the Vatican of so impious and frantic a nature, that he is not necessarily bound by his creed and his hopes of eternal happiness to endeavor to execute. He is compelled by the same belief to exert himself in creating for his despotic lord and master an authority where he has none, and in augmenting and fortifying it wherever it exists.

The bishop of Comana was not the only one indeed who, at this period, ventured to glance at

such a code of sentiments. Whoever is conversant with the pamphlets of the day cannot have forgotten the names of one or two others, whose writings manifestly discovered an inclination to the same pernicious doctrines. But let not my readers be startled at such an assertion; or be in the remotest degree seduced into an illiberal and intolerant spirit against the great body of the catholic church, and especially of English catholics on this account. Madmen there will be in all communities at all periods of the world: among the catholics of this period they were, however, comparatively but few; at least but few who carried their madness to the excess here instanced. It is moreover a mania for which the late war has furnished a specific antidote: for reduced and degraded as the papal see is at the present moment; converted as is its religious profession into a mere engine of state in France; and lost as is its pre-eminence in Germany, from the suppression of several ecclesiastical principalities, and the creation of other new protestant ones—a change which has given to the latter a decided superiority in the aggregate of electoral votes, and menaces a speedy transfer of the imperial diadem from a catholic to a protestant family—it must be a phenomenon in future to behold a man contesting for the infallibility of a power so comparatively

despicable as that of the tiara, and an absolute impossibility for him to effect any mischief, if he were to become an active agent in its favor.

Our author, in his reply, expresses a hope that, although the court of Rome should be appealed to in the present controversy, as it was very shortly afterwards, the prelatic party would not be so triumphant as they had ventured to expect. "After all, my lord," says he, "I would not have you too sure of success even at Rome; and if that court be so political as it is said to be, I should wonder much if, every thing considered, your conduct met with approbation there." p. 18.

In these expectations Dr. Geddes appears to have been deceived. He reasoned from the personal liberality of his late holiness, and few popes have exhibited more liberality than Pius VI.; but he did not consider that a very advanced age was at this time rendering him infirm both in mind and body, and that he was surrounded by a conclave of cardinals of whom all were not endowed with his own share of candor. Buon Campagni was already associated in the cause of the opposers of the oath, and he was determined, in conjunction with several of his colleagues, to prevent its obtaining the sanction of the pontificate.

The encyclical letter, mean time, upon which the

hopes of the papal party depended, which had been subscribed by the four vicars apostolic, and gave the first alarm to the committee, received, while printing, a severe blow by the death of bishop James Talbot, apostolic vicar of the London district: an event by which its publication in this district was completely frustrated; while an admirable and spirited remonstrance from the clergy of the middle district to bishop Thomas Talbot suspended, at the same time, its publication within the precincts of this latter jurisdiction. Walmesly and Gibson were the only prelates therefore who ventured to publish it *. And while, in answer to

* This want of universality in the publication seems to have been a matter of no small moment, as involving a question respecting the validity of the censure itself. The committee thus express themselves upon this subject, in a letter to bishop Douglas, upon the publication of the second encyclical letter, signed by himself, Walmesly, and Gibson, of the date of January 19, 1791.

“ My Lord, in your encyclical letter of the 19th of last month, you have informed the catholics of your district, that the four apostolic vicars, by their encyclical letter, dated October 21st, 1789, condemned the oath proposed at that time to be presented to parliament. But permit us, my lord, to ask, if this is a fair statement of that circumstance. Your lordship must unquestionably have heard, that, of the four prelates who signed this censure, two signified their most earnest wish, that the publication of it should be suspended, and never could be induced to publish it in their respective

the observations of the committee, the latter brought forwards the "pastoral letter" which I have just noticed, a letter of similar description was addressed to the committee by the former about the same time in which he denominates the oath "ambiguous in its general expressions, derogating from the principles of the catholic church, and confounding the spiritual and temporal powers together *." In this address he maintains more-

districts. Now permit us, my lord, to declare, that no censure, or other judicial sentence, has any effect till it is published. This is admitted equally by canonists and civilians. The encyclical letter of the 21st of October, 1789, was never published either in London or the Middle Districts. How far, from this circumstance, it lost its integrity, and consequently its validity, even in the two districts where it was published, will certainly admit of doubt; but surely the truth of history requires, that, when that censure is mentioned, this remarkable circumstance attending it should not be forgotten."

* To ease the tender consciences of the three *recusant* prelates upon this last point, the committee proposed to submit the case to the opinion of two civil lawyers, two common lawyers, and two catholic lawyers. This was not acceded to. But the committee still thought it adviseable, for the benefit of many others of their community, to take a step somewhat similar. They therefore consulted upon the subject, as the person in whose legal judgment they most relied, Mr. Hill, his majesty's premier serjeant at law, the first lawyer at the bar in point of office and precedence: and as his opinion upon

over that the sentence of condemnation by the encyclical letter was legal, and requires submission a very intricate point is supposed to be drawn up with equal elegance and precision, the reader will here find a copy of it, together with the case upon which it is founded.

THE CASE.

“ A doubt has arisen in the minds of some catholics, whether some parts of the oath, particularly the clause in red ink, do not amount to a denial of the spiritual rights with which, according to their religious tenets, the church and her ministers, and particularly the pope, is invested ; as those of preaching the Faith, administering the sacraments, ordaining the ministers of the church, punishing by spiritual censures, &c. If it amount to a denial of the pope, the church, and her ministers, being invested with the rights of this nature, it is an oath which a catholic cannot take consistently with his religious principles.

“ On the other hand it is contended, that it is not meant to deny by the oath any spiritual right of the church, but merely the right of the church to interfere in temporal concerns, or to use temporal means to enforce her spiritual censures.

“ Two propositions are admitted on all sides.

“ The one, that the church is invested with a complete authority in spiritual concerns, and a power to enforce that authority by the spiritual means of censures ; and that the pope is the spiritual head of the church.

“ The other, that neither the church nor the pope have, either directly or indirectly, any temporal power in this kingdom.

“ The question therefore is, Whether the oath in question, and particularly that part of it which is written in red ink, is a denial of the spiritual authority of the church, or the spiritual supremacy of the pope.

to its decision; concluding with a declaration that there is no appeal from it but to the pope, "the vicar of Jesus Christ himself."

The majority of the catholics however soon learned that an appeal of this kind was likely to be of but little avail, and that the door of favor was already barred against them. On the death of bishop James Talbot, the clergy of the London district having assembled to consider of the choice of another vicar apostolic, the general wish fell most decidedly on Dr. Charles Berington, who

"No form of civil government, nor any system of laws, was instituted by Christ or his apostles, nor any commission granted to their successor to enforce the christian doctrine by temporal power. The authority of the pope and the church is derived from them. The words of the oath do not import a denial of their having this authority: they only deny their having temporal power, or a right to enforce their spiritual authority by temporal power. This is all the party who takes the oath will, or can, be understood to swear or assert, when he swears, *in the words of the oath, * that they have no jurisdiction or authority that can, either directly or indirectly, affect or interfere with the independence, sovereignty, laws, constitution, or government thereof, or with the rights, liberties, persons, or properties of the people of the said realm, or any of them*;—therefore I think the oath is not a denial of the spiritual authority of the church, or the supremacy of the Pope.

"Lincoln's Inn, February 18, 1791.

G. HILL."

* The words in Italics are those which were written in red ink.

had been coadjutor to bishop Thomas Talbot, and was deservedly esteemed for his candor and liberality of mind: to which, almost unanimous, voice of the clergy, was added, moreover, the formal approbation of the chief persons among the laity. His name was sent, therefore, to Rome for the approbation of the pontifical court, and an intimation was at the same time communicated of his popularity amongst his brethren, and their general suffrage in his favor. To the name of Dr. Charles Berington were added, for the sake of customary form, those of two other ecclesiastics, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Brown, without the least idea in the mind of any person that the popular nominee would have been discarded, and either of the others appointed in his stead. So, however, it happened. Berington was well known at the Vatican to have favored the oath, as well as the protestation, and to have been adverse to the encyclical letter. The manœuvres of Walmesly and Gibson succeeded, and bulls of consecration were in consequence directed, not to himself, but to Mr. Douglas. Some intimation of these manœuvres had indeed been communicated to the committee, for a short period anterior to the issuing of the papal mandate; and, to guard against a disappointment, it was proposed, by several of this truly respectable body, and especially by Mr., now Sir John Throckmorton, who

wrote two excellent pamphlets expressly upon the subject, to elect Dr. Berington for their bishop in the first instance, consistently with primitive usage, and then to inform the court of Rome of their proceedings, and request its approbation.

I am not surprised that this advice was not generally acceded to. The Roman catholics of England do not form a church of themselves: they lost their hierarchy upon the separation of this country from the papal see; and continued for upwards of a century destitute of a regular priesthood, and without attaching themselves to any catholic church whatever. After some such interval, however, they applied to the Vatican for assistance, and were immediately received into the bosom of the papal church, of which they have ever since constituted a remote part or colony, governed by vicegerents or vicars apostolic immediately appointed by the pontiff, and as directly subject to his control, I mean with respect to spiritual concerns, as the catholics of the pope's temporal dominions. Whatever therefore may have been the primitive usage among English catholics when they had a church of their own, and the offence of *præmunire* was founded upon such an usage,* or

* See Mr. Butler's historical Account of the Laws respecting Roman Catholics, p. 1—6.

whatever may be the usage among the Gallican or any other catholic church at the present moment, as a branch of the papal church they are bound to submit to the whole of its authority so long as they continue a branch: although it is highly desirable that they should emancipate themselves from such a vassalage, establish a new hierarchy, and entertain the same sort of communion with the Roman see which subsists between it and many catholic churches of the continent.

Such, therefore, being the situation of the parties, it was not to be expected that the pope would relinquish his right, or depute as his vicar apostolic a person who was represented to him as ready to relinquish a considerable portion of his authority, in preference to another of whose strenuous attachment, both from his education in Spain, and the assurances of Walmesly and Gibson, he could have no doubt. Dr. Berington was in consequence passed by, and Mr. Douglas appointed in his stead, under the title of bishop of Centuria. About the same time also Matthew, bishop of Comana, and vicar apostolic of the northern district, was attacked with a disease which proved fatal in a few days: upon which occasion, repeating his disregard to the popular wish, his holiness appointed William, bishop of Acanthos, to supply his place.

Ingratitude is not a crime of which these newly elected vicars can be impeached. Under the guidance of their elder associate bishop Walmesly, they entered into the controversy with the most determined alacrity and zeal; and on January 19, 1791, produced and issued a fresh encyclical letter, in which, although the oath had been altered in some points which appeared most objectionable, and had hereby obtained the entire sanction of bishop Thomas Talbot, apostolic vicar of the middle district, it was still condemned with as much violence as before; the appellation of protesting catholic dissenters was still censured; and the faithful were commanded to be on their guard against, and to reject with detestation, several publications, as well which *have appeared*, as which may *appear hereafter*: concluding with a declaration that, “of those which have been published, some are schismatical, scandalous, inflammatory, and insulting to the supreme head of the church, the vicar of Jesus Christ.”

It is against this letter, signed by the three confederate and incorrigible vicars apostolic, that Dr. Geddes addressed the second anonymous pamphlet which he wrote in the course of this long and acrimonious controversy, and which he entitled an “Encyclical Letter of the Bishops of Rama, Acanthos, and Centuria, to the faithful

clergy and laity of their respective districts; *with a continued commentary for the use of the vulgar.*" The original letter unquestionably bears most prominent marks of precipitation, irascibility, and inaccuracy: and of these qualities the commentary very plentifully avails itself, pointing out with much jocularity, as it proceeds, the etymology of the titular distinctions of the subscribers, their respective authorities in England, and several specimens of the grammatical, logical, and philological errors with which this brief epistle abounds. The commentator is peculiarly severe upon the pliability of Mr. Douglas, bishop of Centuria, and the newly appointed apostolic vicar to the London district. "Centuria, I believe," says he, "should be written Centuriæ. However that be, it is certainly in the Numidian province of Africa. It had once a bishop named *Quod-vult-Deus*: that is, *What-God-wills*. If its present bishop cannot assume this name, he may take one somewhat like to it, *Quod-vult-papa, What-the-pope-wills.*" Upon the declaration in the letter that all authority concerning oaths "resides in the bishops, they being by divine institution the spiritual governors in the church of Christ,"—our commentator, without impugning the *general* doctrine, advances this observation relative to the writers alone—"Whether *our vicars be bishops by divine institu-*

tion, is a question which may be catholically disputed. The *right divine* even of ordinary and regular bishops is not an article of faith any more than the *right divine* of kings *. But whether *irregular* bishops of Rama, Acanthos, and Centuria, are by *divine institution* the *spiritual governors* of English catholics, is a question, I say, which may be fairly and orthodoxly disputed; and I am of opinion that it requires neither much discussion nor deep knowledge to decide without ambiguity."

But the most imprudent part of this apostolic epistle was that in which, after the application to parliament had been approved of, and the protestation which was the ground of the oath actually signed by all the four pontifical vicars for the time being, and recommended in the most strenuous manner to the faithful of their respective districts—they earnestly exhort every catholic to unite in opposing the oath, by presenting "a protestation or counter-petition," or by adopting "whatever other legal and prudent measure may be judged the best." The mischiefs which must necessarily have resulted from following so incautious an advice, and the impossibility of effect-

* This latter proposition was often and warmly agitated in the council of Trent; and at length hushed into rest under the cover of two equivocal canons. See Sess. 23, an. 1563.

ing the proposed object if it were attempted, considering that neither the bill nor the oath, in its state at that time, was the work of the committee, are justly adverted to, and pointed out: and it is well observed, that the catholics were, by such an exhortation, placed in the unhappy dilemma either of disobeying the apostolic exhortation itself, or, by adhering to it, of being reputed bad citizens, and re-exciting against themselves all the animosity of former times.

The bill, including the oath, was at this moment before parliament, and I shall close the present chapter with a short account of its progress, and of the manner in which the controversy terminated; which I am the better enabled to accomplish from the full and obliging information I have received upon the subject from a gentleman who was at that time one of the most active members of the committee, as well as from several authentic papers which have been communicated to me for this purpose.

In compliance (and it is a compliance which does credit to the liberality of the administration then existing) with the prejudices of those who objected to the oath as at first drawn up, the appellation of protesting catholic dissenters was exchanged for that of Roman catholics, under which designation the members of the catholic

church are now, for the first time, known to the legislature of this country:—the term heretical was withdrawn; and eventually the Irish oath, scarcely differing in a single sentence from the English oath of the 18 Geo. III., was substituted in the place of that originally introduced into the new bill. In its passage through the upper house the bill itself had, indeed, to submit to some few additional clauses, and to a variation in two or three of the old: but in neither instance of any essential consequence. The most material suppression was that of the entire clause, which would have enabled Roman catholics to have presented to advowsons: and as this is an immunity exercised by every order of his majesty's subjects independently of themselves, by dissenters, quakers, and even jews, it is truly extraordinary that the jealousy of parliament should, in this season of liberal and manly toleration, have withheld from them a right to which they are so amply entitled: but such, however, was the fact; the clause was objected to, the objection was deemed valid, and the demand was negatived. “On its return to the house of commons the bill met the same kind of reception which had attended it on its first entrance there. The substitution of the Irish oath was acquiesced in. After the bill had passed through the accustomed forms of the house of commons,

it was returned to the lords; who acceded to it without further opposition, and on the 10th day of June 1791 it received the royal assent*.”

The prelatie party meanwhile continued to testify their decided disapprobation. Although every conciliating effort had been manifested by the committee, the three *dissenting* apostolic vicars still pretended to some insuperable difficulty. It was on January 19, 1791, they had fulminated their second encyclical letter. To this the committee had replied on the second of February, by a letter addressed to their own immediate superintendant Mr. Douglas, vicar of the London or southern district; which is a model of candor and legitimate ratiocination. On the eighth of the same month they had been fortunate enough to obtain a conference with them, at which, after the prospect of an amicable arrangement vainly indulged for some considerable time, Gibson, bishop of Acanthos, arose abruptly from his seat, and said that all such discussion was of no consequence; and that the only question was, whether the committee would or would not submit? This unexpected requisition, and particularly the mode and time in which it was made, struck the com-

* Letter addressed to the Catholics of England by the Catholic Committee. Blue Books, No. III. p. 10.

mittee with astonishment, and they requested to have the requisition in writing, that they might deliberate upon a reply. The question was penned, and almost immediately afterwards, with equal deference and independence of spirit, answered in the negative, with the signatures of bishop Berrington, Dr. Joseph Wilks, lords Sturton and Petre, sir H. C. Englefield baronet, John Throckmorton (now sir J. Throckmorton bart.), John Towneley, and Thomas Hornyold, esqrs.; the committee at the same time adding, that if the objecting vicars would suggest any addition or qualifying explanation, which could be admitted consistently with the instrument of protestation so uniformly subscribed, they would exert their best endeavours in negotiating the admission of such a suggestion. Upon this reply bishop Douglas observed, that he intended the present should have been an amicable conference, and moved that the question and answer might be thrown into the fire; but his two colleagues being asked if they would retract the requisition, both peremptorily refused. And in this hostile manner the conference abruptly terminated.

The committee, however, were still resolved to try every mean in their power to produce conciliation. And whilst they instantly applied to their friends in parliament to obtain an alteration

or suppression of the more obnoxious terms of the oath, they published an additional letter, addressed to these three incorrigible vicars, offering new grounds of justification; informing through this medium the catholics at large of the whole of their conduct, and particularly of the transactions at the late conference; and closing with a solemn protest against both the encyclical letters, as imprudent, arbitrary and unjust, as a total misrepresentation of the nature of the bills to which they respectively referred, and the oaths they respectively contained, as well as the conduct of the committee in relation to them—as encroaching on their natural, civil, and religious rights, and inculcating principles hostile to society and government, and the laws and constitution of the British empire.

Their application to their parliamentary friends was, meanwhile, as I have already stated, attended with considerable success: and it was confidently hoped, that as there was certainly no remaining ground for opposition, the spirit of altercation would be resigned for that of wonted harmony and concord. A general meeting to promote this purpose was convened therefore by the committee, on June 9th of the same year, a few days after the bill had been returned to the upper house from the commons, with their approbation of the alterations it had received: at which bishop Doug-

las attended, and asserted that he had no objection to the form of the oath then prescribed by parliament; thus adding his assent to that of bishop Talbot, which had long before been obtained and had extended to the general conduct of the committee. Neither Walmesly nor Gibson condescended, however, to be present upon this occasion, nor was there any person authorized to convey their sentiments upon the subject. On the ensuing day, as I have already observed, the royal assent was given to the bill; and all further opposition being useless, the two recusant vicars learned, at length, to overcome their scruples.

By this important and very liberal act Roman catholics are put, in almost every instance *, upon a level with other dissenters from the established church, excepting, as I have previously noticed, in the article of presentation to advowsons. The objections raised by dissenters against a compliance with the test and corporation acts operate equally upon both parties; but the former being able to take the oath of supremacy, by which they deny that any "foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdic-

* For a particular statement of the political differences at present subsisting between these two classes of British subjects, see Mr. Butler's historical Account of the Laws against Roman Catholics, p. 24.

tion, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, *ecclesiastical or spiritual*, within this realm," which the latter cannot in conscience assent to; and which oath the legislature requires to be tendered to every voter at an election, as well as to every member of either house of parliament. Roman catholics are subject to penalties and disabilities in both these cases, which do not affect protestant dissenters; and are precluded as well from parliament as from exercising the elective suffrage. The advantages they have obtained, however, by the two statutes which have been passed in their favor in the course of the present reign, that of 18th and 31st of Geo. III., are so very considerable, that they may well rest satisfied with their acquisitions; although they have not procured every immunity to which they are entitled, and which would most probably have been granted them had it not been for their own internal disputes, and the consequent necessity of varying the oath inserted into the last act from its original form.—“Thus,” say the committee, in their address to the catholics at large upon the close of this troublesome undertaking, “since the year 1778 a new order of things is opened to the catholics of England: they have recovered the good opinion and confidence of their countrymen: in matters of religion they are indulged in

a conscientious dissent from the legal establishment, and may worship their God according to the mode which their faith ordains. In civil and political concerns they form no separate combination ; but may freely incorporate with their fellow subjects for the public good. No longer aliens in their native land, they may now behold the general prosperity without envy or depression of spirits. Their property is secure, and no longer held on the precarious and humiliating tenure of sufferance or connivance. They have the sanction of law to transmit it to their offspring. They may impart to their children the blessings of education. They are no longer looked upon as a degraded faction, who harbor principles hostile to the laws and liberties of their country. In a word—THEY ARE ENGLISHMEN, SUBJECTS, AND CITIZENS ; AND AS SUCH THEY ARE ACKNOWLEDGED BY THE KING, THE NATION, AND THE LAW.”

CHAPTER VII.

Dr. Geddes's Macaronic Epistle to his Brother—His Secular Ode on the Affairs of France—Observations on these poems—The poet's attachment to Mr. Fox; and peculiar animation when reciting his merits—His general learning and extensive talents—Universality of study no impediment to perfection in any individual branch of science. A. D. 1791—1792.

THE year 1790 comprises one of the busiest periods of Dr. Geddes's life. We have already traced him deeply engaged in a variety of employments, both serious and jocular: persevering in his translation of the Bible; replying to the vast body of his anonymous correspondents in the different shapes of querists, critics, and counsellors; addressing the catholic bishop of Comana, and the archbishops and bishops of the established church: and we have now to notice, as having been published in the same year also, his *Epistola Macaronica ad Fratrem*, and his *Carmen Seculare pro Gallica gente*, which exhibit him altogether in a new character, and one in which, from the former production more especially, he appears to no small advantage; to wit, that of a Latin

poet. The *Epistola Macaronica*, as its title expresses, is a humorous poem upon many of the incidents that occurred at a general dinner of the protestant dissenters at the London tavern in the preceding February; at which place they had assembled to wish success to their conjoint efforts in obtaining a repeal of the test and corporation acts, as already stated in Chapter V.

“It is the characteristic of a macaronic poem,” observes our author in an introductory remark, “to be written in Latin hexameters; but so as to admit occasionally vernacular words, either in their native form or with a Latin inflexion. Other licences, too, are allowed in the measure of the lines, contrary to the strict rules of prosody; of which, however, very few have been here indulged.”

This species of burlesque poetry is not very common among ourselves. At the end of the sixth volume of Leland's *Itinerary*, Mr. Hearne has indeed given a macaronic poem on a battle at Oxford, between the scholars and the townsmen, and part of the celebrated comedy of *Ignoramus* is composed upon the same model: but on the continent *Maccheronéa*, or *Macaronics*, are by no means infrequent. The comedies of Moliere, and especially his *Malade Imaginaire*, furnish us with abundant instances: while among

the Italian poets they are more common than even in France. M. de Blainville, in his Travels through Italy (vol. iii. p. 548), speaks of a macaronic poem of Merlinus Coccaius, or rather of Theophilo Folengi, under this name, a poet of Mantua, who died as early as 1554; and which, notwithstanding the high reputation of Folengi for many other works communicated to the public, was generally regarded as his masterpiece. It was entitled Baldus, and divided into not less than twenty-five books. From this circumstance the translators of de Blainville, Turnbull, Guthrie, and Lockman, incline to the opinion that Folengi was the inventor of this species of versification. This indeed may be true; but when they tell us that macaronic poetry, which is a mixture of Latin and Italian words, possessing a Latin termination, "is so called from its being supposed to resemble (as being a mixture) the Italian Maccheroni, these being composed of flower, cheese, and butter"—they display a woeful ignorance of the subject they attempt to elucidate. Maccherone is a term in the Italian language, significative of a blockhead, an ignoramus, or in equivalent English a *pudding-pated* fellow: and Maccheronéa (Macaronics) are obviously, therefore, burlesque imitations of the unclassical style of such writers.

This Macaronic Epistle of Dr. Geddes is, in my judgment, the best of all his sportive effusions. The subject was certainly a happy one; and he has infused into it a portion of wit and humor which even at present is sure to excite no small degree of laughter. The different characters are well caught, and delineated with good nature rather than severity; and the quaint intermixture of Latin and English, of terms classical and vulgar, commencing with one language and terminating in another, of which the grave speeches of the respective orators are composed, combine a greater quantity of burlesque, and consequently afford an ampler portion of merriment than can ever be derived from the happiest use of the Anstyan stanza. A few weeks, indeed, after the publication of this epistle our author printed a second edition of it with an English translation "favored him by a friend" in this very style of versification. This translation has its merit also: but, perhaps, for the reasons just stated, it appears bald and insipid when compared with the original. The name of this "friend" I am not acquainted with. The English reader himself will be able to form some idea of the ludicrous nature of this high-seasoned macaronic from the following verses which de-

scribe the different classes of those who were now assembled at the tavern.

Hic, una in *balla* magnaue, altaue, treceni

Meetavere viri, ex diversis nomine sectis :

Hi, quibus et cordi est audacis dogma Socini ;

Hi, quibus arrident potius dictamina Arii ;

Hi, qui Calvinii mysteria dira tuentur ;

Hi, quibus affixum est a bibaptismate nomen :

All, in a word, qui se oppressos *most beavily* credunt

Legibus injustis, *test-oat*bibus atque profanis ;

While high-church homines in ease et luxury vivunt ;

Et placeas, postas, mercedes, munia, gras pant !

Hi cuncti *keen were* ; fari aut pugnare parati

Prisca pro causa.

In enumerating the clerical leaders, our author has adverted with appropriate and pleasant curiosity to the peculiar sentiments or manners of most of them. Every one acquainted with the writings of Mr. Belsham, knows him to be a strenuous necessarian : the benevolent characters of Dr. Disney and Dr. Price are seized *con amore*, and given with the touch of a Carraccio ; and Dr. Priestley's grains of gunpowder, which excited so much idle inflammability and uproar among the high-church party, are introduced with much dexterity and effect.

Quid referam Cleri clarissima nomina ? Reesum,

Lindsæum, Kippis, *conspicillisque* Toërum

Insignem—et (woe's me!) *violentâ sorte coactum*

Bellhamum; *niveo candentem pectore* Disney;

Et Price, humani generis totius amicum.

Non aderas, Priestley!—potior te cura tenebat

Rure, ubi magna inter centum miracula rerum,

Horflæi caput in rutilantia fulmina forgis;

Sulphuris et satagis subtilia grana parare,

Church quibus et churchmen in cælum upblowere possis.

Of all the characters delineated, I have been chiefly pleased, however, with that of the late worthy but irascible Mr. Fell; who adhered, it seems, to the party which very injudiciously would have destroyed the harmony of the table, by the introduction of a set of preconceived political resolutions. Fell, it is universally known, had engaged in a keen controversy with Mr. Farmer upon the demoniacs of the scriptures; and, in opposition to the latter gentleman, had powerfully and violently contended for their actual existence. It is to this contest our author obviously alludes in the following verses:

Pluribus hæc placuit sententia; jamque sinistris

Emptæas glassas manibus *graspamus*, ut illas

Fragranti ex testa impleremus Burdigalensi;

Cum doctor, PERVERSO AGITATUS DÆMONE, Fellus

Omnia *spoilavit*—nam *bencha* flans super alta,

Verba quidem *sour, sour*, satis ac facunda profatur.

It is remarkable, that in his description of Mr. Fox, who was present on the occasion, he drops

abruptly all idea of macaronics, and, elevated by the additional dignity of his subject, or the enthusiasm with which he contemplated this unrivalled statesman, bursts into a strain of classical and exquisite hexameters—

————— carmina non prius

Audita, musarum sacerdos.

It is thus he delineates him—

————— post hunc, argutus Ieffries,

Perdignus Chairman—et post hunc Foxius ipse ;

Foxius, eloquii nostro Demosthenis ævo

Unicus adsertor ; et libertatis amator

Unicus ; et nondum venalis !—Plaudite, cives !

Plaudite magnanimum concivem ; plaudite verum

Humani juris ultorem ; et ducite plausus

Ter ternos, donec reboabunt voce columnæ.

Thus again, when Mr. Fox rises and totally dissipates the discontent that seems still to prevail in one or two quarters, we meet with a description which, if it were not for the barbarous term *lippis*, would make us nearly forget the ground on which we are treading:

Cum (Deus ut volucer cœlo delapsus ab alto)

Foxius apparêt ; nimbos et dissipat omnes

Flexanimis verbis, blandæ et dulcedine vocis.

Non, mihi tercentum linguas si cœla dedissent,

Et calamum puro manantem nectare—non tum

Dicere sperarem vel scribere *ῥήματα* posse,

Illius ex *lippis* quæ mellea cunque fluebant
Sit satis effari, non *ρηματα* vana fuisse.

Nam velut Aprili medio si quando serenum
Turbârit cœlum Boreas, densisque nigrârit
Nubibus, attonita et metuit natura ruinam
Grandineo ex nimbo—subito Sol imperat Euro
Alipedes ut jungat equos, seseque sequatur !
Ipse sedens curru, radiorum spicula spargit
Purpurea : ætutum et toto densissima cœlo
Nubila depellit.—Sic tunc diffusa per aulam
Aurea vox Foxi sævas compescuit iras,
Et lætos, hilaresque ad pocula cara remisit

It is a curious observation, and, considering the little patronage Mr. Fox ever has been or perhaps ever will be possessed of—an observation highly creditable to the learning of the present day—to notice how universally he has monopolized the enthusiasm of our most eminent scholars. Our merchants may, indeed, erect monuments to the memory of his rival, but I scarcely know to what literary character of established reputation they could apply for a voluntary inscription; while Parr, Wakefield, Geddes, and a multitude of similar names, have eagerly pressed forward to offer their pure tribute of unpurchased praise, and to connect their own immortality with his *. But

* Dr. Parr and Dr. Geddes have both assimilated his impetuous and commanding eloquence to that of Pericles. The former citing a forcible verse of Aristophanes upon the Grecian orator, applies it with much happy appropriation to his friend :

of all his admirers none appears to have entertained a more exalted idea of his talents or his virtues

Ηστραπτ' ἐβροντα, ξυνεκυκα την Ελλάδα.

He flashed, he thundered, and all Greece he shook.

The latter, in his address to the public, prefers, as more expressive still of Mr. Fox's characteristic oratory, the passage of Eupolis upon the same redoubtable chief, which begins,

Κρατιστος ουτος εγενετο ανθρωπων λεγειν

Ο ποτε παρελθοι, ωσπερ οι γαθοι δρομεις &c.

The attachment of the late Mr. Wakefield to Mr. Fox is well known, though like Dr. Geddes he had but little personal acquaintance with him, and no expectation of pecuniary assistance or patronage. The masterpiece of his literary labors, his superb edition of Lucretius, he dedicated to him, with all the fervor of veneration and affection, in a truly elegant address which thus opens :

VIRO

seculi sui

ILLUSTRISSIMO

et

VERE HONORABILI

CAROLO JACOBO FOX,

elegantioribus ingenii dotibus

EMINENTISSIMO ;

eloquentiæ venâ

copiosæ, facilis, inaffectatæ, vividæ, sublimis,

PROFLUENTI ;

virtutibus iis omnibus,

quæ virum politicum exornent,

CONSUMMATISSIMO ;

sed ob teneros affectus animi

humanissimamque benevolentiam

IN PRIMIS VENERABILI.

than Dr. Geddes: speaking in another place of its having been objected to him that he was an *obstinate* and a *violent* Foxite, he observes that Foxite is a name which, “next to those of christian and catholic, I consider as the most glorious one I can bear. I am undoubtedly a Foxite, an obstinate Foxite, and, if they will, as violent a Foxite, in my low walk of life, as any man in the kingdom. But why? Because I find in Mr. Fox, and in Mr. Fox alone, almost every thing that I wish to find in a British statesman. I have narrowly watched his public conduct for these fifteen years; and whether he were in office, or out of office, I have ever observed his conduct uniformly directed to the greater good of his country. I talk not here of his matchless eloquence and irresistible force of reasoning; they are felt and confessed by his greatest opponents. It is his unequalled philanthropy, his unrivalled liberality of sentiment, his honest and manly candor, his inflexible firmness and uncorrupted integrity, that principally fill me with admiration and attachment. And shall I, when every little dirty art is employed to misrepresent his actions and render him unpopular, be withheld from expressing my sentiments in his regard, for fear of what may be thought or said of me on that account? I have not, ‘to my sorrow I declare,’ the honor of Mr. Fox’s acquaintance;

I never spoke to him but once in my life : I never applied to him for any favor, and consequently never obtained any. My praise then cannot be a partial, at least it cannot be a mercenary praise, nor indeed can it be of any consequence to Mr. Fox. He stands not in need of so feeble a panegyrist. But it is my wish (a selfish wish) to have it known that I am one of those who consider CHARLES JAMES FOX as one of the *greatest*, and *wisest*, and *best* of men."

To the Carmen Sæculare of Dr. Geddes, published in the same year, I cannot pay the compliment which is due to his Macaronic Epistle. It is dedicated to the National Assembly of France, and its subject is the Acceptance of the New Constitution by the unfortunate Lewis. It is well known that the generous bosom of our countrymen hailed with an enthusiastic ardor, and with very few exceptions, the commencement of a revolution which gave the fairest promise—a promise, alas ! that was blighted in the very bud—of the triumph of liberty over oppression, and a further extension of the happiness of the human race. Many of the scenes of outrage and hypocrisy which accompanied even the earliest transactions of this political innovation were not known in our own country at the time to which I am now alluding; and as it was universally hoped, so it was generally

believed, that the royal assent and sanction were altogether voluntary and unbiassed. Of this number was Dr. Geddes: animated with the sacred fury of the moment, which seems to have borne down every breast before it, he flies to his muse, to give vent to the rapturous feelings that agitated him. The muse, however, in direct contradiction to what might have been expected, does not appear to have been propitious. There is a tameness and insipidity pervading the entire ode—an occasional inattention to prosody and grammar which renders it equally unworthy of the subject and the poet: no prominent event is seized possession of; no sentiment auspiciously conveyed. The following are, I believe, among the best stanzas; or at least they convey to us a favorable idea of the author's piety, and his thorough belief of the virtue and honesty of the French monarch.

Gentis humanæ fator atque rector,
Hoc tuum donum! tibi sint, bonorum
Omnium verè dator ac origo,

Gloria, lausque!

Audiant omnes, timeantque reges:

Totius terræ timeant tyranni;

Palleat quicunque imitatur illos

Nomine quovis!

Χαίρε, ter felix Ludovice, χαίρε!

Tu tenes tandem innocuam coronam;

Tu tenes tandem maculata nullo

Crimine sceptrum!

The beginning of this extract, however, unfortunately reminds us of the

Gentis humanæ pater atque custos

of Horace, from whom our poet evidently derived the first verse, and forces upon us a comparison which is by no means advantageous to him. To this Latin ode the poet himself added an English version, which has certainly no boast beyond that of the original. The following is his translation of the passage above :

Yes, Father of mankind ! thine is the deed :

Our grateful voice of thanks to thee we raise ;

To thee, the giver of each precious meed,

Be honor, glory, and eternal praise.

Let sovereigns hear and tremble !—may the sound

Reach every tyrant's ear from pole to pole ;

Kings, emperors, princes, prelates, popes confound,

And fill with terror each despotic soul.

Hail happy Lewis ! who can boast you wear

A crown innocuous, lawfully obtained !

Hail happy Lewis ! who can boast you bear

A regal sceptre with no crime dislained.

Instead of being surprised, however, that Dr. Geddes did not always succeed in the different and apparently opposite branches of literature in which he so indiscriminately engaged, most of my readers will perhaps be rather surprised at the versatility and magnitude of his powers, which enabled him

to engage at any time with success in all of them. Yet this is not a correct idea. There are, I well know, philosophers who, judging from the contracted limits of their own minds, deny the possibility of any one man's acquiring perfection, or any thing that may make a near approach to it, in more than one art or science, through the whole course of his life. Such rend asunder, instead of classifying, the different branches of human study, and regard each as a stumbling-block and mortal enemy, instead of a friend and help-mate to every other. Buchanan, who like Geddes was profoundly skilled in antient polemics and all the politics of the day, was the first poet of his age: Aristotle, the most subtle metaphysician of Greece, evinced the most perfect relish for the essential beauties of poetry, and established a code of laws for its regulation, which has continued with little deviation to the present hour. The genius of Milton was almost illimited: that of sir William Jones equally competent to the whole circle of sciences; and Khakani (خاتانی), one of the most sublime and spirited poets of Persia, was alike celebrated for his skill in every branch of pure and mixed mathematics. Judgment is as necessary in the composition of correct versification, as in the prosecution of any other art or science whatsoever: and a lively and brilliant imagination, when subjected to its reins, cannot possibly retard, but may

very considerably quicken our progress in every branch of human learning. All that we perceive, and that can become the subject of study, has emanated from one divine intelligence, and is submitted to the same uniform powers of genius; and the man who dares every thing will find, in science as in battle, that fortune generally favors the brave.

CHAPTER VIII.

General execration of the slave trade—Dr. Geddes satirises it in his apology for slavery—The question introduced before parliament—Conduct of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas—Result of parliamentary interference—Mr. Cowper's Translation of Homer's Iliad—Dr. Geddes's high opinion of Mr. Cowper's poetic talents—Mr. Fuseli; the assistance he rendered Mr. Cowper—Dr. Geddes's Translation of the first Book of Homer's Iliad: comparison between the versions of Cowper, Geddes, Burger, and Voss—L'Avocat du Diable: the occasion of this humorous poem—The profession of the law not an unfavorable subject, evinced by Mr. Anstey's Pleader's Guide. A. D. 1792—1793.

IT happened about this time that all Europe, which had for ages, with little or no remorse, permitted the barbarous exercise of the slave trade in its foreign settlements, was suddenly “visited with the compunctious feelings of nature” on account of its criminality. The attack began, for some reason, of which I am ignorant, upon the tender conscience of Mr. Wilberforce: and as the smallest spark is frequently sufficient to produce

an unlimited conflagration, it spread with resistless impetuosity over all England, and from England over all the continent. Amidst the numerous wild-fires that scorched rather than enlightened mankind at the same moment, the *ignes fatui* of illuminism, cosmopolitanism, and theophilanthropism, this, however, was a holy flame, and, instead of ridiculing its origin, we have only to lament that it possessed so little of vestal perpetuity. Dr. Geddes, who was too bold a man and too found a logician not to pursue a principle he had once imbibed through all the extent of its legitimate consequences—for the very reason that he had longed for a more general toleration in England, and hailed the apparent triumph of liberty in France, could not do otherwise than wish success to the abolition of African slavery. To wish and to act were with him the same thing: and having observed that every argument which could be seriously advanced against this abominable traffic, to adopt his own language, “in Greek and Latin, French and English, philosophy and oratory, prose and verse, had been alternately and successively employed” in vain, he advances with an argument of a different description, and with an equal admixture of humor and severity appeals *ad verecundiam*, by pretending to embrace the converse side of the question, and thus to appear as a

strenuous advocate for the trade in human blood : he published therefore at this period his “ *Apology for Slavery.*” Often as the feelings of nature and humanity and the dictates of religion had been introduced to anathematize the whole system, our author satirically demonstrates that the two former have uniformly, and the latter generally, encouraged and enjoined it. This pamphlet, for obvious reasons, was published anonymously : but the features of Dr. Geddes were as conspicuous in his style and arrangement as in his countenance, and no masquerade of a foreign name or of an anonymous introduction could conceal him from the eye of the inquisitive. The following extract from the apology before us will sufficiently explain what I mean :

“ It remains to be examined how far the cries of *religion* have been heard, are heard, or ought to be heard, on the subject in question.

“ And here, indeed, I am obliged to own, that a Being, called RELIGION, seems actually to have, once at least, exerted her voice in favor of universal freedom; and exerted it in so benign, gentle, and enchanting a manner, that, if the exertion had long continued, I fear that *nature* and *humanity* would have lost their influence with respect to man. Her voice was heard through the organ of JESUS, in so audible, distinct, and unequivocal a manner,

as not to be misunderstood. By HIS mouth she tells us, that, in point of liberty, she admits of no distinctions. Jew and Gentle, Greek and Barbarian, the circumcised and uncircumcised, are there equally free. All men are our neighbours, our brethren; whom she willeth us to love as ourselves. The rule of our conduct towards others must, according to her, be that which we wish them to hold towards us. Cruelty, rapine, cozenage, and every sort of oppression, for ever exclude from HER kingdom.

“ That such a *religion* should weep over the misery of our Negroes, I am willing to believe. Her great HIGH-PRIEST most certainly did weep, in her name, over less misery than theirs. He blended his tears with those of two affectionate sisters, who had lost their brother by fair death; and even raised him from the dead to remove their cause of tears. He wept over the future miseries of Jerusalem, when its inhabitants were plotting his destruction! Such a religion, I say, once existed, and may possibly still exist in *Eutopia* or in *heaven*: but who, for these fifteen hundred years, has seen her, or heard her crying, through compassion, on this sublunary globe?—Her *namesake*, that assumed her place in the reign of Constantine, so far from weeping at human misery, has, ever since, been one of the principal causes of it. She has literally

verified, what the christian legislator said of her predecessor, in a metaphorical sense: she has set the son against the father, and the father against the son, and put a sword in the hand of one brother to stab another.—Not to mention *Pagans*, *Jews*, or *Mahommedans*; let the sect of *Christians* be pointed out, in which she has not abetted every species of intolerantism. Who, but she, prompted the Athanasians to calumniate and maltreat the Arians; and these to retaliate on the Athanasians? Who, but she, excited the Donatist and Vandalic persecutions? Who, but she, sowed the seeds of dissension between the Greek and Latin churches; and made a breach of communion that is never likely to be healed? Who, but she, authorized Charlemagne to butcher in cold blood four thousand Saxons, and to dragoon as many more of them into the faith? Who, but she, made an ambitious pope* sacrifice his conscience to a cruel usurper†, for the vain title of *Universal Bishop*? Who, but she, inspired his successors in the see of Rome to attempt and accomplish the spiritual subjugation of the western world to their assumed authority? Who, but she, emboldened Gregory VII. to seize also the sword of civil power, and to consider kings and emperors as his vassals and slaves? Who, but she, inspired even the fathers of a gene-

* Boniface III.

† Phocas.

ral fynod to vote* the burning of John Hufs and Jerome of Prague, in spite of the safe conduct of an emperor? Who, but she, was the MOTHER of the INQUISITION? And who, but she, dictates an AU-TO-DE-FE? Who, but she, in short, at once condemns the soul to hell, and the body to the flames?

“ Ghosts of the Albigenfes, fo cruelly butchered by the religious Montfort, authorized by a papal bull! Ghosts of Vanini and Servetus, who fell, the one a victim to papiftic, the other to Calviniftic zeal! Ghosts of papifts and proteftants, whom our fupreme head of the church, the godly Henry, burned at the fame ftake! Ghosts of Lati-mer and Ridley, whom not even the wifh of a cardinal could refcue from the fangs and faggots of the orthodox Bonner! Ghost of the much-injured amiable MARY, who fell a facrifice, not barely to the jealousy of our *virgin queen*, but to the fafety of our *infant church*!—Say, could I fummon you from your feats of repofe, to attelt to the truth of what I have here advanced, would you not cry out with one voice—in the words of Lucretius, ‘ Yes, yes! *tantum potuit suadere malorum religio!*’

“ With what face, after this, can the fticklers for the abolition of flavery introduce *Religion*, even in

* *Lata est sententia patrum, cremendos esse contumaces.* Eneas Sylv.

her present christian garb, pleading with tears for liberty to a set of unchristened savages, to whom the name of CHRIST is only known through the blasphemies of their *christian* task-masters? SHE, who makes no sort of scruple to enslave, persecute, and torture her own baptized children!—Mr. Wilberforce and his associates may be able to point out a few individual clergymen of every denomination, who have openly declared themselves the enemies of slavery; but their voice can never be called that of Religion, who speaks only by *established churches*. Until then, the church of England and the kirk of Scotland (for the church of Rome is here out of the question) have clearly delivered their oracles *ex cathedra*, and thundered anathemas against the slave trade, we must consider the genuine voice of *Religion*, such as she is in these latter days, as on our side of the question.

“On the whole, I trust, I have fully proved, that the arguments derived by our adversaries, from the pretended cries of *nature*, *humanity*, and *religion*, in favor of the abolition of slavery, are futile and frivolous in the extreme. I proceed now to offer *my* reasons why slavery ought not to be abolished.”

These are derived and pursued in the same ironic manner from the laws of nature; the law of nations; the divine positive law; the laws of self-interest; the laws of luxury; and the laws of state-

expediency. Upon these I need not enlarge, as the train of reasoning is sufficiently obvious already. The following is a part of the paragraph with which the writer concludes: "Ye Foxes and Windhams, ye Smiths and Wilberforces! give up, give up your vain pursuit. What though the minister lend you his single voice? what though he lend it you *seriously*? The voice of the *minister* will, on this occasion, be drowned by the voice of *ministerialists*; and your opposition here will be as ineffectual with him on your side as it is every where else when he is against you."

Whether or not a sudden emancipation or gradual abolition of West Indian slavery be most consistent with the dictates of reason or even humanity is not the question here agitated. If the traffic be intrinsically criminal it is impossible to retain one man for one moment in so abased a servitude, devoid of some portion of guilt; and yet, such is the dilemma, if we may determine from the late situation of those French islands in which the experiment has been made, to which we are reduced, that an abrupt and universal emancipation would probably be attended with more moral and physical evil, than even a temporary but gradually relaxing perseverance in this very criminality itself. So true is the observation which I have somewhere met in the writings of Mr. Burke, that it is possible for

certain principles to be theoretically right while they are practically wrong.

To the British senate both plans, however, have been submitted, and submitted so repeatedly as to become far more tedious than “a twice-told tale.” How it came to pass that, with all the eloquence conjoined with the vote of such a man as Mr. Pitt in favor of the abolition of the slave trade, this act of national justice has not yet been obtained—and that “the voice of the *minister*” has been actually and repeatedly “drowned by the voice of *ministerialists*” must appear a mystery to those who have not attended to the finesse and duplicity which Mr. Pitt seems never to have hesitated to employ in cases of political urgency. The general influence of this minister over his own parliament is well known; and his warmest and most confidential friends do not deny that he could have obtained his usual majority in both houses if he had cordially exerted himself for this purpose. To say that Mr. Dundas was against the question, and therefore it was lost, is to excite a laugh at this gentleman’s expense. Mr. Dundas has uniformly discovered too much complaisance for Mr. Pitt to have entertained at any time an opinion of his own, when he knew his colleague to have been determined upon the acquisition of any particular object, be it what it might; and, admitting the sincerity of Mr. Pitt—that it should have been carried, as it

actually was once or twice in the lower house, and at length lost in the upper, is more extraordinary still—that it should have been lost in that house over which the West Indian merchants have but little comparative control; and in which the peers of Mr. Pitt's own creation were at the time so numerous as almost to have ensured him a majority against those of an earlier existence. In fact, when we contemplate Mr. Pitt's total dereliction of every political principle he had professed on the moment of his accession to power, we can scarcely believe him to have been sincere in his prior profession of those principles; when we examine his conduct respecting the repeal of the test and corporation act, it is impossible not to behold a degree of disingenuity towards the dissenters which cannot be estimated at less than deceit; and when, in the present instance, we survey him consenting to lose a question repeatedly, in his own ostensible opinion founded equally on moral and political justice, and of the utmost importance to the interest of Great Britain that it should be carried; when we see him trusting to the mental persuasion of his voice alone, without having recourse, in any one instance, to that physical and co-operating influence to which upon every other occasion he was accustomed to resort, it is not *in human nature* (to adopt a favorite phraseology of his own) to believe that he was serious in the cause he pretended

to espouse. He obtained nevertheless the popularity he fought after and was satisfied. No party indeed seems to have been highly displeased: the people felt that they had at least triumphed by the force of argument—and the West Indian merchants by the force of fact. In one respect however Mr. Pitt has grossly deviated from his engagement upon this subject; for during the last discussion of it in the house of commons he expressly asserted that the abolition of the slave trade was so intimately connected with the very existence of our West Indian colonies, that if the motion were not carried in the form in which it was then presented, he should feel it his indispensable duty to bring it forwards shortly afterwards in his official character; and he pledged himself to the house that he would thus act. Five long years, nevertheless, afterwards rolled on, and Mr. Pitt's pledge still remained as unfulfilled as that concerning a reformation of parliament; both of them indeed appearing to be alike postponed to the Greek calends.

The work which at this time occupied the chief attention of the public was Mr. Cowper's translation of the Iliad and Odyssey. The talents this most excellent but unfortunate bard had evinced, and the reputation he had acquired by his poem of *The Task*, stamped a deep impression upon the world in his favor; and the version was at length published in two splendid quartos, with a list of

five hundred subscribers, including the names of almost all the nobility and men of letters in the nation. It is not to be wondered at therefore that in this list should appear the name of Alexander Geddes, LL. D. Geddes indeed regarded Cowper as the first poet of his day. I have repeatedly heard him assert that, independently of the strength as well as occasional beauty of his versification, he believed there was no man living to whom as a philologist the English language was so much indebted as to this admirable poet: for that there was no man who had with so much success resuscitated from the grave of oblivion words which ought never to have become obsolete; imported exotic terms which seemed so happily to harmonize with our own tongue, that almost every one who met with them wondered they had not been imported before; or gave a new and more characteristic sense to many which had been long in common use. Among the books of his library was an edition of Johnson's Dictionary interleaved with blank pages for manuscript and cursory remarks; and among these the name of Cowper occurs more frequently, I believe, than that of any other author, as a source of addition and improvement to this valuable work. Dr. Geddes has adverted to him on account of the pre-eminence of his muse in the pamphlet upon the Slave Trade, from which I have just quoted; and in his Latin

Elegy “to the Shade of Gilbert Wakefield” he assigns him a place in the Elysian gardens among Homer, Virgil, Lucretius, Milton, Shakespear, and several other poets of the first celebrity in antient and modern times.

————— *secus ac Cowperus, flebilis iste,
Orco quem ante diem bilis acerba dedit.*

————— Nor remotely roves
Pale Cowper, still by many a friend bewailed,
Whom melancholy to the infernal groves
Sent immature, ere nature half had failed*.

But however high the opinion of Dr. Geddes concerning Cowper as an original poet, he did not think him qualified to become a translator of Homer. Cowper had never critically studied the Greek language, and at the time of commencing his version had never read a single scholiast upon him, although his professed object was to give a version verbally accurate and equivalent. Pope was moreover the idol of Geddes, and estimated by him as highly above Cowper as Cowper was above his contemporaries: and he could not but look with a jealous eye upon every one who attempted to rival the poet of his heart.

If Pope were a superficial Greek scholar, he did not regard Cowper as more profound, and believ-

* See the entire Elegy, in chap. xiv. of this work.

ing him to have less talent in the mechanism of versification, he was persuaded he was less qualified to bend the mighty bow of Ulysses. The result has abundantly proved that Geddes was not mistaken. Mr. Cowper's translation has by no means satisfied the expectations of the public: he has neither added to his own fame nor to that of Homer. Geddes was disgusted from the very first page, and in a fit of undue exasperation declared he would translate Homer himself, and show that it was possible to make as good versification, while he preserved not only all the epithets and phraseologies of the original, which Mr. Cowper has not done, but the very order itself. Yet, what appears principally to have irritated him, was Mr. Cowper's declaration towards the close of his preface of acknowledgments to "the learned and ingenious Mr. Fufeli," whom he styles in the same place "the best critic in Homer I have ever met with." Accident had frequently thrown Dr. Geddes and Mr. Fufeli into the same company, and much learned dust had as frequently been excited between the two critical combatants, not at all times to the amusement of the rest of the respective parties. Whatever opinion Mr. Fufeli may hence have entertained of the powers of his antagonist, it is certain that Dr. Geddes was not very deeply impressed with those of Mr. Fufeli, and that he scarcely allowed him the merit to which he is ac-

tually entitled. When, therefore, he found in Mr. Cowper's preface, that instead of consulting the profound erudition and sterling authorities of Stephens, Clarke, Ernesti, and Villoison, he had turned to Mr. Fufeli as his only oracle, and had gloried in submitting to the whole of his corrections and emendations—to his disappointment at the inadequacy of the version, was added a contempt of the quarter to which he had fled for assistance.

To resolve and to execute were with Geddes almost the same thing; and having precipitately determined upon a literal version of the Iliad in English iambics, the public were presented with a specimen of it, comprising the whole of the first book, in the beginning of 1792: in the preface to which the author, in opposition to Mr. Cowper, who had asserted that he found more difficulty in composing blank verse with its due variation of pause and cadence than in stringing rhymes—affirms, that he has preferred blank verse, because independently of its superior harmony it is much easier to construct than rhyme; that it is “hardly credible how readily the Greek of Homer *tumbles*” into verse of the former description; and thinks he “can with ease cast off a hundred lines in a forenoon.” In conclusion, “I beg leave,” says he, “to assure the readers that neither *Fufeli*, nor any other profound critic in Homer, has given me the smallest

assistance. The whole merit or demerit of my version rests solely with myself."

It would be extravagant to suppose, whatever may have been our translator's own opinion upon the subject, that there can be any degree of harmony or euphonious cadence in verses thus precipitately huddled together, and ostensibly limited to the very words of the original. The attempt therefore failed, and he never proceeded beyond the first book of the Iliad. It is nevertheless tolerably calculated to show the comparative adherence of other translators to the Homeric type; and had Mr. Wakefield's Greek and English Dictionary succeeded, and introduced the custom of learning the former without the medium of Latin, it would have answered the purpose of a convenient English ordo. The reader will not be displeased with a specimen or two compared with the same passages from Mr. Cowper. The poem opens as follows:

Μηνιν αειδε θεα Πηληϊάδεω Αχιλλέως
 Ουλομένην· η μυρι· Αχαιοις αλγε εθηκε·
 Πολλας δ' ιφθιμους ψυχας αιδι προΐαψεν
 'Ηρώων· αυτους δ' ελωρια τευχε κυνεσσιν,
 Οιωνοισι τε πασι. Διος δ' ετελειετο βουλη·
 Εξ ου δη τα πρωτα διαστητην ερισαντε,
 Ατρείδης τε αναξ ανδρων και διος Αχιλλεύς.

The passage is thus rendered by Mr. Cowper:

Achilles sing, O Goddess! Peleus' son;
 His wrath pernicious, who ten thousand woes

Caused to Achaia's host, sent many a soul
 Illustrious into Aides premature,
 And heroes gave (so stood the will of Jove)
 To dogs and to all ravening fowls a prey,
 When fierce dispute had separated once
 The noble chief Achilles from the son
 Of Atreus, Agamemnon, king of men.

In Dr. Geddes it occurs as follows :

The wrath sing, Goddess! of-the-son-of-Peleus
 Achilles, dire; which myriads on the Greeks
 Of woes imposed; and many worthy souls
 To Hades prematurely-sent of heroes;
 And them a prey prepared to dogs, and all
 The-ravenous birds; (of Jove thus was-fulfilled
 The will) from what *time* firstly disagreed
 Striving, Atrides, king of-men, and the-
 Divine Achilles.

Of these rival renderings it cannot but be observed, that they are both more disjointed than the original; the inversions of which are, nevertheless, indigenous beauties, and appropriate to the Greek tongue. They are also nearly equally weak and paraphrastic, each of them omitting, in direct contradiction to their pretensions, several of the Grecian poet's happiest epithets and turns which might have been retained, while in both we meet with many others introduced that are not to be found in Homer. The tautology in Cowper of "Achilles sing—His wrath pernicious"—is tame,

and has no foundation in the original, which confines the poet's prayer to "the wrath" of Achilles alone. In this respect the commencement of Geddes has the advantage, but the position of the epithet *dire* in the second line is more remote from its immediate predicate than in the Greek, and seems, in spite of the comma, to appertain to *Achilles himself* rather than to his *wrath*. *Caused*, v. 3, is a very imbecile term in Cowper;—and neither "*illustrious*" nor "*worthy*," as it is rendered by Geddes, affords the real meaning of *ἰφθιμους*, which is rather *bold, daring, undaunted*. "*So stood the will of Jove*," v. 5, is a colloquial vulgarism, which we have some how or other derived from the Italians, and which is altogether unbecoming the dignity of the epic muse. *Come sta*, V. S., or "*how stands it with you to-day*," may do in a marketplace, but makes a forry appearance in iambic poetry. It becomes me nevertheless to observe, that Cowper is the first English poet who has given the true meaning of this sentence as it occurs in the original, *Διὸς δ' ἐτελειετο βουλή*, and has confined it to an abrupt parenthetical reflexion of the poet himself. Geddes has justly followed him: but in Dryden, and Pope, who was ever ready to avail himself of Dryden's superior erudition, it composes a part of the poet's direct address to his muse, and erroneously states that such was the will

of Jove, not as a determination *preordained*, but *in consequence* of the dispute between the two Grecian chiefs: thus the latter poet concluding moreover with a useless Alexandrine tautology that, to adopt an image of his own, “like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along:”

Since great Achilles, and Atrides strove,

Such was the sovereign doom, and such the will of Jove.

The phrase “*disagreed, striving*,” in Geddes is extremely uncouth and pleonastic, as well as totally inconsistent with the original, which is far more accurately rendered by his antagonist. The term “Agamemnon” in the last line of Cowper is nevertheless altogether supernumerary, and not to be found in the original; and the epithet “*noble*” in the preceding is by no means equivalent to *δῖος* in the Greek. In reality its precise meaning has not been caught by any of our poets. Pope says “*great Achilles*,” which gives a smaller value of the Greek than “*noble*,” Geddes *divine Achilles*,” and Dryden “*godlike*.” Of these Geddes’s interpretation is the best, but still it is not characteristic, the epithet referring to the celestial origin of the hero, and only to be faithfully rendered by some such phrase as *heaven-sprung*, *heaven-begot*, or *Jove-descended*. It is placed in direct opposition to the characteristic title of Atrides, who is significantly denominated “king of mankind.”

In Mr. Cowper's second edition, published since his decease, he has altered the passage thus:

Sing, Muse, the deadly wrath of Peleus' son
 Achilles, source of many thousand woes
 To the Achaian host, which numerous souls
 Of heroes sent to Aides premature,
 And left their bodies to devouring dogs
 And birds of heaven (so Jove his will performed)
 From that dread hour when discord first embroiled
 Achilles, and Atrides king of men.

The whole period runs much more fluently, and though shorter by a line than in the first edition, gives equally the general sense of the original. The principal omissions are that of *ἰφθίμους*, rendered, but improperly, "*illustrious*" in the first copy, and the total suppression of *δῖος*, the characteristic quality of the birth of Achilles, before rendered, but with equal inadequacy, "*noble*." *Μυρί* (*myri*) is now translated "*many thousand*;" in the prior edition it is "*ten thousand*:" Geddes has given it more accurately by adopting its English derivative "*myriads*."

Germany has lately produced two poets who have been trying their rival strength upon the same subject, and each of them with admirable success. M. Burger of Göttingen, already for his ballads celebrated among ourselves, and M. Voss, who has just given a complete version of both the

Iliad and Odyſſey. Each has followed Klopſtok in the uſe of hexameter verſe, which has now the promiſe of being almoſt excluſively appropriated in this language to the epic muſe. If the reader will excuſe me from rambling ſo far (it is claſſic ground we are traверſing) I will preſent him with the above introduction of the Iliad as rendered by both. The firſt is the production of M. Burger.

Gottin, ſinge den zorn der Peleiden Achilleus,
Jenen verderblichen, welcher der Greichen unennbares
weh ſchuf,

Viele tapfere ſeelen der helden dem Aides zuſtieß,
Ihre leichnam aber den hunden und allem gevogel
Dar zum raubmahl both. So ward Zeus wille vollendet
Seit der zeit, da zuerſt Agamemnon, herrſcher der volker,
Und der gottliche held Achilleus hadernd ſich trennten.

M. Vofs is not very different.

Singe den zorn, O Gottin, des Peleiaden Achilleus,
Ihn der entbrannt, den Achaiern unennbaren jammer erregte
Und viel tapfere ſeelen der helderſöhne zum Aïs
Sendete, aber ſie ſelbſt zum raub darſtellte den hunden,
Um dem gevogel umher. So ward Zeus wille vollendet:
Seit dem tag', als erſt durch bittern zank ſich entzweiten,
Atreus ſohn, der hercher des volks, und der edle Achilleus.

Both theſe verſions, while they poſſeſs more ſpirit and variety than thoſe of either Cowper or Geddes, are nevertheless more true to the original: the latter, however, has the advantage in boldneſs and ſublimity, and is throughout an in-

comparable production. The *Jenen welcher* of the first, and its parallel *Ihn der* of the last, are too paraphrastic and tautological—the latter word alone being sufficient in each, and all that occurs in the original. The *entbrannt* of M. Voss (*fiery, furious*), gives by no means the value of *ουλομενην* in Homer, and is far better rendered by M. Burger, *verderblichen*, or, in the words of Mr. Cowper, “*pernicious*” and “*deadly*.” I must observe also that neither of the German bards has accurately interpreted *προϊαιψεν*, which not only implies *to send* or *dismiss*, but, in the language of all our English poets, to send or dismiss *prematurely* or *untimely*. Nor is the characteristic epithet of Achilles preserved better by the German than the English translators, the former, like Dryden, employing the term *godlike* “*gottliche*,” and the latter, like Cowper, *noble* “*edle*.”

Both, however, have comprised their version in the same number of lines, and nearly of syllables, as the original. It is said that the English iambic of ten syllables is not competent to the version of a Latin or Greek hexameter, which unquestionably extends to a number in some degree larger. But if we reflect on the augmentation of syllables produced in the two latter tongues beyond that of the former, I think it may be allowed that the iambic measure in English is very nearly adequate

to a conveyance of all the ideas which can be introduced into the Greek hexameter; and perhaps altogether so, if we admit occasionally, which I nevertheless think a blemish in English poetry notwithstanding the frequency of the practice, the hypermeter or redundant syllable at the termination of a verse. I will endeavour to prove this assertion, if the reader will forgive the audacity of such an attempt after such a variety of specimens from poets and scholars of the first eminence—by rendering line for line, and idea for idea, this very period we have been so scrupulously investigating; premising that in Dryden, Pope, and the second edition of Cowper, it occupies eight verses, in Geddes eight and a half, and in Cowper's first edition nine.

The deadly wrath of Peleus-sprung Achilles
Sing, Muse!—that myriad woes th' Achaians wrought,*
And many a soul untimely hurled to hell
Of heroes brave; and strewed their limbs, to dogs,
To birds, a prey—(such Jove's determined will!)
From when, in ire, Atrides, king of men,
First parted, and the goddess-born Achilles.

In this version the only suppression is that of the adjunct *all* ($\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota$) before *birds*; and the only variation is that of “*their limbs*” for “*themselves*”

*Or thus,

Sing, Goddess! myriad woes the Greeks that wrought, &c.

(αυτους), which the reader may substitute if he choose, and which M. Vofs actually has done by the term *sie selbst* ; but which, however consistent with Grecian mythology at the æra of Homer, is scarcely to be tolerated in the present day ; all whose various systems of metaphysics regard the soul as the man himself, or at least the best part of himself.

I shall present the reader with but one more passage, and shall take it at random from the close of Agamemnon's speech to Calchas, in which he refuses to restore the venerable priest's daughter to her father,

Ὡς εἶπας, ἐδδείσεν δ' ὁ γέρον, καὶ ἐπειθετο μύθῳ
Βῆ δ' ἀκῶν παρὰ Σίνα &c.

So said-he. Fear'd the old man, and obey'd
The-mandate.—Went he silent by the-shore
Of-the-loud sounding sea.—Much, after-that,
(Alone while walking) pray'd-he to-his-king
Apollo, whom fair-hair'd Latona bare.

“Hear me, O-master-of-the-silver-bow !

“Who Chrysa round-about-protectest, and

“The divine Killa ; and o'er Tenedos

“High empire-holdest ; rat-destroyer, if

“To-thee I ever have a-gracious fane

“Adorn'd ; or e'er to-thee the-fat-fat thighs

“Have-burn'd of-bulls and goats ; me grant this wish :

“Let, on-the-Greeks, thine arrows 'venge my tears.”

So said-he, praying—and him heard Apollo.

Down-came-he from Olympus' top ; his heart
 Imbil'd, a-bow-upon-*his*-shoulders having,
 And-an-all-round-about-close-cover'd quiver.
 Sounded the-arrows on *his* shoulders, as-
 In-ire he-moved. Resembling Night, he-came.
 Then, sitting at-some-distance from-the-ships,
 A-dart he-sped ; and dreadful was the clang
 Of-the-argentine bow. The-mules he, first,
 Invaded, and the-dogs swift-*footed* ; but, eftsoons,
 Against-*the-men*-themselves a-deadly shaft
 He-took and flang.—And aye the-funeral-pyles
 Burn'd thick-and-thick. Nine-days, indeed, throughout
 The-army flew the-arrows of-the-God.

Cowper's copy at this time before Geddes was
 as follows :

He spake : the old priest trembled and obeyed,
 Forlorn he roamed the ocean's founding shore,
 And, solitary, with much prayer his king,
 Bright-haired Latona's son, Phœbus, implored.

“ God of the silver bow, who with thy power
 Encirclest Chrysa, and who reign'st supreme
 In Tenedos, and Cilla the divine,
 Sminthian Apollo ! if I e'er adorned
 Thy beauteous fane, or on thy altar burned
 The fat acceptable of bulls or goats,
 Grant my petition—with thy shafts avenge
 On the Achaian host thy servant's tears.”

Such prayer he made, and it was heard. The God
 Down from Olympus with his radiant bow,
 And his full quiver o'er his shoulder slung,
 Marched in his anger : shaken as he moved

His rattling arrows told of his approach.
 Gloomy he came as Night; far from the ships
 Apart, and sent an arrow. Clanged the cord,
 Dread-sounding, bounding on the silver bow.
 Mules first and dogs he struck, but at themselves
 Dispatching soon his bitter arrows keen,
 Smote them. Death-piles on all sides always blazed.
 Nine days throughout the camp his arrows flew.

This passage is rendered by each of the translators more literally than that just quoted. The verse in Geddes

*Silent went he by the shore
 Of the loud-sounding sea—*

is superior to the same in Cowper, and more true to the original,

Forlorn he roamed the ocean's sounding shore.

In the second edition of the latter it is thus varied and improved:

Silent he roamed the loud-remurmuring shore.

The phrase *rat-destroyer*, however, which occurs in Geddes is intolerably vulgar as applied to Apollo. It is true it contains the literal meaning of the Greek $\Sigma\mu\iota\nu\theta\epsilon\upsilon$ (Smintheu); but as in the present day we are in the habit of recurring to the Grecian language for the greater part of our technical terms, it would have been far better to have

followed the example of Cowper by retaining the original term, which the note upon this part of the text already appended in Geddes's version would have sufficiently explained. If the phrase "*full quiver*" as in Cowper meet scarcely the whole idea of ἀμφηρεφεία φερητην, that of "*an-all-round-about-close-covered quiver*," as interpreted by Geddes, is a most *round-about* expression indeed. The poet means to describe a quiver perfectly filled and covered over with arrows on every side, and might have been rendered much more briefly "*an all-o'er-covered quiver*." Vofs has well given it *ringsger-schlossenen kochen*.—Cowper's phrase, "*Gloomy he came as night*," is admirable, and cannot but remind us of Milton's "*Black it stood as night*," which the latter borrowed perhaps from this very picture of Apollo. I am sorry to find the passage altered in Cowper's second edition to the more feeble phraseology of "*Like night he came*;" which is far more prosaic, and not more strictly literal than Geddes's "*Resembling night*." The first version of Cowper is that of Vofs, but more sublime and magnificent, *duster wie nachtgraun*, "*dark as the night-gloom*." *Argentine*, in Geddes, is not an English word, and *estfoons* and *aye* are far too antiquated for modern use; but "*funeral-piles*" is better than the "*death-piles*" of his antagonist.

To pursue the comparison any further would be

useless. It is abundantly proved, I think, that Dr. Geddes completely failed in his object; and that, notwithstanding his synthetic arrangement, he has scarcely given a closer version of Homer than Mr. Cowper, while in consequence of this arrangement itself he has been betrayed into a perpetual want of harmonious cadence, and a frequent use of uncouth and obsolete expressions. That Mr. Cowper's translation is also highly imperfect, is, I conceive, equally obvious; and indeed nothing can more clearly demonstrate his own dissatisfaction with what he had done, than the fact that in his second edition he has introduced nearly one third of entirely new matter. By this change, in many parts it has been very essentially improved: but I doubt much whether it will ever become a popular work, or rival the more loose but more melodious version of Mr. Pope.

In the course of the same year we meet with another poetic effusion, and in a strain altogether humorous, and consequently far better managed, from the pen of Dr. Geddes. It is a short poem of one hundred and seventy-four lines, entitled *L'Avocat du Diable*, and was written upon the events of a singular action for damages which many of my readers may still remember to have been brought about this time in the court of King's Bench, at the instance of the late lord Lonf-

dale, against the celebrated Peter Pindar, for having insinuated in one of his ephemeral fatires that Mr. Fuseli, after having been long hunting for an appropriate figure whence he might paint a striking likeness of the devil, unluckily fixed upon that of the noble earl. The defence was committed to the hands of Mr. Erskine, who conducted it with his usual address, and, by appealing to the majestic figure and deportment of Satan as exhibited in the *Paradise Lost*, contended strenuously that his lordship could not be the person designed either by the poet or the painter, for that no two personages were ever more unlike. The little poem before us is a sort of parody upon this part of the learned counsel's oration: and, following up the argument, the jocular bard endeavors to prove a total want of resemblance between the two in almost every quality both of body and mind; calculates the defamation of character which the devil had hereby suffered, and, as his advocate, appeals to the *Court of Uncommon Pleas*, before which the speech is supposed to be delivered, for damages proportioned to the magnitude of the offence.

The libel, my lords! ye, by this time, must see

To be *scandal. magnat.* in the highest degree:

Yet, such is my client's good heart, he declines

To insist upon *pillory, prison, or fines*:

And all that he asks is, that never again
 A dealer in paint may his character stain :
 That never again, or on canvas or board
 His head be depictur'd, like that of a LORD.
 This, my lords ! he expects from the laws of the land :
 The court can't refuse him so just a demand.

I know, it has been by a *barrister* said,
 That my client dare hardly call *law* to his aid.
 Why, forsooth ?—For this reason—“ His hands are not
 clean. ”

Has ever the petulant barrister seen
 The hands of my client ? I'll wager a crown,
 That *his* hands are as clean as the barrister's *own*.

Our author, in his introductory address to the reader, after alluding to an assertion of Mr. Pope, that it was easier for him to express his ideas in verse than in prose even on ethical and metaphysical subjects—continues, “ I am apt to think, from this specimen, that law matters are equally susceptible of versification, and that poetical pleadings might be gradually introduced to the great improvement of the bar, and the no small satisfaction of the judges and jury.” Whether the reader may be induced to think with the doctor from his own specimen I will not determine : but the observation, though sportively advanced, is perfectly just, and the truth of it has been abundantly proved since this period by Mr. Anstey's very hu-

morous and admirable poem, entitled "The Pleader's Guide;" who, from this proof of family talent may almost be styled, in the language of Mr. Hayley, as applied to Torquato Tasso,

Of a poetic fire the more poetic son.

CHAPTER IX.

The biographer's first introduction to Dr. Geddes : impression made upon the former during this interview—Anecdotes respecting the latter : his attachment to Physiognomy as a science—System and Treatise upon Physiognomy—Anecdote of his skill in this individual branch of moral anatomy—Destruction of his Treatise and probable change in his sentiments—Engages a house in New Road, Mary-le-bone—His mechanic employments and dexterity in the use of mechanic tools—His attachment to horticulture—Green-house, and schemes for its improvement—Three Secular Odes upon the French Revolution—Translation of the Ver-Vert of Gresset—Remarks on this translation. A. D. 1792—1793.

IT was about this period, the year 1793, I first became acquainted with Dr. Geddes. I met him accidentally at the house of Miss Hamilton, who has lately acquired a just reputation for her excellent Letters on Education : and I freely confess that at the first interview I was by no means pleased with him. I beheld a man of about five feet five inches high, in a black dress put on with uncommon negligence, and apparently never fitted to his form : his figure was lank, his face meagre,

his hair black, long and loose, without having been sufficiently submitted to the operations of the toilet—and his eyes, though quick and vivid, sparkling at that time rather with irritability than benevolence. He was disputing with one of the company when I entered, and the rapidity with which at this moment he left his chair, and rushed, with an elevated tone of voice and uncourtly dogmatism of manner, towards his opponent, instantaneously persuaded me that the subject upon which the debate turned was of the utmost moment. I listened with all the attention I could command; and in a few minutes learned, to my astonishment, that it related to nothing more than the distance of his own house in the New Road, Paddington, from the place of our meeting, which was in Guildford-street. The debate being at length concluded, or rather worn out, the doctor took possession of the next chair to that in which I was seated, and united with myself and a friend who sat on my other side in discoursing upon the politics of the day. On this topic we proceeded smoothly and accordantly for some time; till at length disagreeing with us upon some point as trivial as the former, he again rose abruptly from his seat, traversed the room in every direction, with as indeterminate a parallax as that of a comet, loudly and with increase of voice

maintaining his position at every step he took. Not wishing to prolong the dispute, we yielded to him without further interruption; and in the course of a few minutes after he had closed his harangue, he again approached us, retook possession of his chair, and was all playfulness, good humor, and genuine wit.

Upon his retirement I inquired of our amiable hostess whether this were a specimen of his common disposition, or whether any thing had particularly occurred to excite his irascibility. From her I learned that, with one of the best and most benevolent hearts in the world, he was naturally very irritable; but that his irritability was at the present period exacerbated by a slight degree of fever which had for some time affected his spirits, and which had probably been produced by a considerable degree of very unmerited ill usage and disappointment. I instantly regarded him in a different light: I sought his friendship, and I obtained it; and it was not long before I myself witnessed in his actions a series of benevolence and charitable exertions, often beyond what prudence and a regard to his own limited income would have dictated, that stamped a higher esteem for him upon my heart than all the general information and profound learning he was universally known to possess, and which gave him more promptitude

upon every subject that happened to be started than I ever beheld in any other person. I saw him irritable, but it was the harmless corruscation of a summer evening's Aurora—it no sooner appeared than it was spent, and no mischief ensued. And when I reflected that it was this very irritability of nerve that excited him to a thousand acts of kindness, and prompted him to debar himself of a thousand little gratifications that he might relieve the distressed and comfort the sorrowful, I could scarcely lament that he possessed it; or, at least, I could not avoid contending that it carried a very ample apology along with it. Dr. Geddes himself was by no means insensible to this peculiar characteristic of his nature: he has frequently lamented it to me in private, and I have often beheld him endeavoring to stifle it in public, either by abruptly quitting the room, or introducing another subject. On one occasion I remember particularly his doing both. He was dining with me in company with the late Dr. Henry Hunter, of physiognomonic memory, the celebrated Abbé Delille, and several other literary friends. Unfortunately one of the subjects advanced was physiognomy itself. Geddes had read Lavater with much attention, and expressed himself extremely dissatisfied with the confusion and want of system that seemed to prevail in his writings; and which, in his opinion, pre-

cluded all possibility of applying his doctrines with precision. Hunter, the friend and translator of Lavater, immediately accepted the gauntlet, and became his champion: the combat grew warm on both sides; the good humor of Dr. Geddes was soon lost; and, in proportion as he became violent, the company at large gave evident tokens of espousing the cause of his antagonist. He perceived his error; and, at the moment when I most trembled for the consequences, he rose suddenly from table, joined my two children who were playing in the same room before the fire, and abruptly entered into their amusements. A debate of some other kind however shortly afterwards occurred, when, once more sensible of an undue degree of warmth in his language, he suddenly retired without daring to trust himself any longer in the contest. No man, I fully believe, was more sensible of his prevailing defect; and no man ever took more pains to remedy it: but it was inherent in his constitution, and he often labored to no purpose. “I am not ill-natured,” says he of himself, and with strict justice, in his Letter to the Bishop of Cœnturia—“those who know me know the contrary. Animated and irascible I am, but I am neither malevolent nor resentful. I may safely say that ‘the sun has never set upon my wrath.’”

Having introduced the subject of physiognomy,

I shall take the opportunity it affords me of observing, that it was a science to which about this period he was much attached and had devoted a great portion of his time. I have already remarked that he was dissatisfied with the bulky and sentimental work of M. Lavater; but he nevertheless approved of many of his general principles, and had endeavored to form from one or two of them a new, or rather, in his own opinion, a more accurate theory of application. Lavater has observed, and perhaps justly, that there is no muscle or even bone of the human body that does not in some degree or other sympathize in the prevailing passion of the mind, and bear evident marks of having been operated upon by its influence; while, as the bones and muscles of the face are nearest the scene of action, and most obvious to the view of the spectator, the predominant disposition may be more easily studied and calculated from these than from any other, and especially from the eye, which is regarded by all physiognomists as the most perfect index of the soul. Admitting the general foundation of this position, Dr. Geddes denied the assertion which relates to the indicatory powers of the eye as an organ superior to the rest. There is scarcely any organ, he contended, that is more subject to the control of the will than the eye itself, when that control is strongly exercised; and when

it is not, no organ that is so fluctuating and incessantly operated upon, not by the prevailing and habitual passion of life, but by all the fleeting passions of the day, whether of joy, anger, timidity, or grief; and consequently, however minutely it may indicate the mental feelings of the moment, it is too vacillating and uncertain an instrument by which to ascertain the master-passion of the man. His object therefore was to search out some feature of the face that was less subject to transitions, and for this purpose he selected the nose; and, voluntarily neglecting every other component part of the countenance, devoted a long and laborious attention to this organ alone. He endeavored to investigate and arrange its multitudinous variations, and for this purpose frequented, with considerable constancy, for many years our principal places of public resort, and especially Kensington Gardens; and he has repeatedly told me that he has been occasionally so pleased with the structure of a particular nose, that he has crossed and re-crossed the person to whom it belonged so incessantly, before he finally quitted him, as to give the idea of impertinence, and excite no very pleasant degree of remark in the party with whom he was walking. Of all these he took rude sketches at the moment; from which a lady of his acquaintance, whose name I have forgotten, but who was

possessed of much skill in drawing, made more finished designs at her leisure: they were then duly systematized and arranged into classes, genera, and species. He had perfected his theory and completed his observations upon it about the year 1796, and nothing but the expense of the engravings prevented him from presenting it to the public.

It may appear to many readers that this new system of Risiognomy, or *Nosology* as we used sportively to denominate it, was founded less on fact than on fancy. I will not oppose such an assertion having never profoundly engaged in the science: but it is well known that the author of it has been able, by the application of its principles, to make some very shrewd guesses at the tempers of persons who were total strangers to him. One instance indeed deserves to be recorded: a young lady, who was a particular friend of the doctor's, was addressed on the subject of matrimony by a gentleman of ample fortune and good person, and she was on the point of accepting his offers. She first of all introduced her lover to Dr. Geddes, and solicited in private his risiognomonic opinion of his predominant character and disposition. The doctor replied, that such an opinion was not to be expected from him; that he studied the science of the nose, (as we would advise every other person to

study it,) for individual use alone ;” and that if he were to communicate his ideas to the public, whether just or unjust, he should soon make more than half the world his enemies. The lady was however importunate, and our physiognomist, really believing he might render her an essential service, at length told her in confidence, that “ the man was a confirmed miser, and that if she married him she would find he would soon grudge her the very clothes on her back.” The lady departed with much dissatisfaction, and for the first time in her life discredited the infallibility of her oracle. She, who had had better opportunities of knowing her lover, was convinced that he was possessed of generosity, frankness of heart, and every amiable qualification. She gave him her hand, and in three months afterwards found the prediction she had extorted verified in its utmost extent, and only regretted her infidelity at the time of its having been delivered.

Dr. Geddes himself, however, does not seem to have been so sanguine in his own system towards the last three or four years of his life as at an earlier period : he spoke less of its powers as a general standard of equitable decision ; and, upon his death, not a single scrap of paper relative to the subject could be detected among his writings. He had either despaired of offering it to the public in the manner he designed, or had been chagrined at

repeated miscalculations, and in a fit of irritability had committed the whole of it to the flames. The cynic may perhaps observe that the public has sustained no great loss by such a conflagration. As a curiosity, the work must nevertheless have been entertaining; and, as exhibiting a deep and accurate study of an important feature of the human countenance, it must have been something more—it must have been highly scientific and useful.

To this system of Physiognomy he has appealed in several parts of his writings. Thus in *L'Avocat du Diable*, of which I have given an account in the last chapter, speaking of the painters and the devil, he says, in the character of his orator,

Then, tertio, my lords ! they have given him *a nose*
That betokens a miser, which every one knows
 My client is not—

But more particularly in his “*Norfolk Tale*,” a poem which yet remains to be noticed; but from which I shall extract, in the present place, the following description of one of the young ladies of the hospitable mansion in which he was visiting:

—————The NOSE of our ANN
 Gets nigh to *perfection's original plan*:
 For know, CATHARINA ! when woman was born,
 I mean, from the side of her yoke-fellow torn ;

The nose was by far the most beautiful feature
 That adorn'd the sweet face of the new-fashion'd creature.
 But when, heark'ning, alas ! to the voice of a snake,
 That *apple* forbidden she ventured to take,
 Her form was disfigured (the Rabbis suppose)
 And a part of the punishment fell on her *nose* :
 Hence, rarely we find in the face of a Fair
 A nose that completely comes up to the square.
 Have you ever yet seen *one*—that was not or *crooked*,
 Or *flatten'd*, or *bottled*, or *turn'd-up*, or *booked* ;
 Too *large*, or too *little*, too *short*, or too *long* ;
 In a word—that had nothing about it was *wrong* ?
 Not ten I believe, since the world first began,
 Had less imperfection than that of our ANN :
 From which I conclude, that on HER but a small
 Share of sin was entail'd by her grandmother's fall.
 And yet, that she's faultless, I cannot well think ;
 This moment she chode me for spilling her ink !
 And when *Henneage* disturbs or her pencil, or paint,
 She shows that she's no *canonizable* faint.
 Nay once, if not oft'ner, I plight you my troth,
 I heard her pronounce the *one half* of an oath.—
 But I will not the foibles of Fair ones expose :
 If ANNA have any—pray look at her NOSE.

Our author, who had hitherto contented himself with lodgings in different parts of the town, finding his library begin to swell to a magnitude that required more space than lodgings could easily afford, engaged about this time a house in All-sop's buildings, New-road, Mary-le-bone, which promised him every convenience his heart could

desire. It possessed a garden before and behind ; and, while pleasant in front, commanded for its back view the whole compass of the sister hills of Highgate and Hampstead, affording one of the most lovely and luxuriant sceneries in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. Dr. Geddes, who was too independent a man to be indebted to any one, even a mechanic, for any thing he could perform himself, now found as much labor carved out for him as Alexander Selkirk when thrown without a companion upon the island of Juan Fernandez. His first object was to arrange his library; and having no one to please but himself, he extended it to every room in the house, excepting the kitchen and a chamber for his housekeeper. He purchased a large box of carpenters' tools, laid in a considerable stock of deals and mahogany, and began to renew the building system pursued at Auchinhalrig. He planed, sawed, and completed his shelves, which he equally hung round parlours, drawing rooms, and chambers; and which, though not finished with all the skill of the professional cabinet maker, were neat and commodious, and, being edged with mahogany, by no means deficient in elegance. One contrivance introduced into the room in which he commonly wrote was peculiarly advantageous to the purposes of study. Our book-cases in general, after allowing space for

two tiers of folios from the floor, recede and become narrower for books of smaller dimensions; leaving at the point of recess a kind of shelf of too little width to be of any real utility. This shelf or covering for the folios below, which he formed of mahogany slab, our self-taught artist projected a few inches over the folios themselves, and carried the projection regularly all round the room; by which means he more effectually secured them from dust, and obtained a kind of circular desk (for, by such contrivance, it was rendered wide enough for this purpose) on which to open the various books he might have occasion to consult, while he himself sat in the centre at his table. By this ingenious scheme he avoided a considerable portion of labor; since, instead of examining a few volumes at once, and making manuscript references to particular passages as he closed them, to admit others to his table in their stead, he opened at one time all the books for which he had occasion, and consulting each in rotation as he passed round the room, reverted instantaneously to that he was determined to follow, copied it without trouble, and with the same facility gave references in his text to several others, without the necessity of a single previous memorandum, or having repeatedly to open and close the same volume before he had done with it.

Having completed his library and arranged his books, he next devoted his leisure hours to his garden ; and in this he toiled, with all the industry of a laborer and all the zeal of a botanist, till he could boast of productions both for ornament and use intrinsically of prime excellence, but still sweeter to himself as being the fruits of his own culture.

Primus vere rosam, atque autumnos carpere poma ;
Et cum tristis hyems etiam nunc frigore saxa
Rumperet, et glacie cursus frænaret aquarum,
Ille comam mollis jam tum tondebat hyacinthi,
Æstatem increpitans seram, Zephyrosque morantes *.

GEORG. iv. 134.

To the pure pleasure resulting from the cultivation of indigenous plants, our indefatigable laborer now began to think of adding the luxury of a little green house and a few exotics. He thought, resolved, and executed. The expense of such an additional indulgence under his management was but trifling, for he was once more

* At spring-tide first he plucked the full-blown rose,
From autumn first the ripened apple chose ;
And e'en when winter split the rocks with cold
And chained the "restless" torrent as it rolled,
His blooming hyacinths, ne'er known to fail,
Shed sweets unborrowed of the vernal gale,
As, mid their rifled beds, he wound his way,
Chid the slow sun, and Zephyr's long delay. SOTHEBY.

his own mason and carpenter, and the green houses or gardens of his friends supplied him with a parent stock. This conservatory he erected in the front of his house, and so completely adjoining the house itself that one of the parlour windows served him for an entrance into it. Here, by a variety of little plans which the fertility of his fancy perpetually suggested, and as perpetually induced him to exchange for others, he considerably amused himself during the months of winter. At one time his flue was heated by a stove opening into the front area; at another time, in a fit of economy, he annulled the stove altogether, and by carrying the flue to the parlour chimney endeavored to heat it from the fire of his own room. At one period he chose to moisten his plants with a common water pot; at a second, by a pipe communicating with the cistern; and at a third, attempting boldly to imitate the reviving dews of the atmosphere, he contrived, by a large copper vessel and a long copper pipe, to supply them with water in the form of tepid vapor. In this manner invention succeeded invention; and though no one satisfied him long, it at least bestowed its share of amusement, and afforded him that interchange of nugatory recreation which the mind occasionally requires in the midst of severe and habitual study; and has frequently recalled to my memory

an observation of the amiable but unfortunate Cowper, who, with a fancy still idler, was often accustomed, at the close of day, to watch in solitude the bright-red cinders of his fire, assuming to his imagination the fantastic forms of trees, towers, churches, and uncouth visages; or from the footy films that played pendulously upon the bars, to calculate by the laws of old English tradition the arrival of letters or the approach of strangers:

'Tis thus the understanding takes repose
In indolent vacuity of thought,
And sleeps and is refreshed.

Yet Dr. Geddes was by no means a recluse. No man was fonder of society than himself, and, excepting when under the influence of high-wrought irritability, no man was possessed of more companionable qualities. His anecdote was always ready, his wit always brilliant: there was an originality of thought, a shrewdness of remark, an epigrammatic turn of expression in almost every thing which escaped him, that was sure to captivate his companions, and to induce those who had once met him, notwithstanding his habitual infirmity, to wish earnestly to meet him again.

Neither company, however, nor manual labor, nor the serious duties of his pen, nor the fleeting recreations of his fancy, could altogether restrain

him from his beloved intercourse with the muses. The politics of France again furnished him with a subject, and, in imitation of a former poem in Sapphic verse, he this year committed to the press two other Secular Odes, of which the one, indeed, was composed a few months antecedently, and still relates to the French king's acceptance of a limited monarchy; while the other, written and printed in the present year 1793, ridicules the absurd manifesto of the duke of Brunswick, and his disgraceful retreat before the army of Dumourier. They are both composed with considerably more spirit than the *Carmen Sæculare* for the year 1789; and, in several verses, are possessed of true poetic inspiration. In each of them, however, the inspiration of the poet is far superior to that of the prophet: and the bard appears more profoundly instructed in the general wishes of man than in the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. In the former of these two odes we therefore meet with the following prediction, in which he apostrophizes the enemies of France:

Creditis, Francos iterum catenis
Colla constringi rigidis daturos?
Flammifer Phœbus citius negabit
Lumina terris.

Of this, for want of a better, the reader must accept of the following version:

Think ye that Frenchmen e'er again
 Will stoop to wear the galling chain?
 No:—sooner shall the sun withhold
 From earth his streams of lucid gold.

To the same effect is the ensuing verse from his Secular Ode for the year 1793, after the flight of the king, the retreat of the duke of Brunswick, and the establishment of the republic:

ÆQUA LIBERTAS solidâ columnâ
 Sistitur tandem; removenda nullis
 Viribus, nullo ruitura casu
 Cuncta per æva.

Lo! EQUAL LIBERTY, at length,
 Stands with the column's solid strength;
 No power can shake the pile sublime,
 Victor alike o'er chance and time.

If our poet erred, he erred only, however, with many of the wisest politicians and most benevolent philosophers of his age. The revolutions of France have of late taken a turn which it was impossible for human foresight at this period to calculate, and which is as widely different from the anticipation of Mr. Burke as from that of Dr. Geddes. This last of the three Secular Odes closes with the following stanzas, in which the Tree of Liberty is addressed with more animation than I remember to have seen it in any other fugitive piece:

Planta sis semper viridis, decora et
Fructibus ; rami teneri per omnem
Pullulent orbem, citius daturi

Dulcia poma.

Fas mihi, fas sit, PATER O SUPREME !
His dies istas oculis videre :

Tum libens cedam, saturatus hospes,

Alteram ad auram.

Interim caram citharam virentis
Arboris, Galli tibi quam dicârunt,
SACRA LIBERTAS ! liceat vel imo

Pendere ramo.

Green be thy leaf, thy branches shoot
O'er earth, fair tree ! adorned with fruit ;
And shortly be the precious load
On man's rejoicing race bestowed.

O give me, give me, SIRE SUPREME !
To see this plant thus nobly teem :
Then, gladly, fated with the fight,
I'll yield where fate direct my flight.

Meantime, O let me from the tree
The Gauls chaste FREEDOM ! rear to thee,
Hang my loved harp, of voice benign,
Though e'en the lowliest bough be mine.

It will readily occur to the reader that the period of time in which these odes were printed exactly corresponds to that of the commencement of the late war and of Mr. Pitt's administration ; and as this æra was not very propitious to political liberty of opinion, the friends of the author

strenuously advised him to suppress their publication for the present. With this advice, as they were actually printed in conjunction with a second edition of his first *Carmen Sæculare*, and very elegantly printed too on a superfine woven quarto, richly gilt at the edges, and accompanied with a beautiful tinted vignette for each ode, it was no easy task to prevail on him to comply. Dr. Geddes, nevertheless, at length yielded to their entreaties, and locked them up in his *escrutoire* till the close of the war; at which period they were again brought forwards to the public, and offered either with or without another Latin Sapphic ode, which he addressed to returning peace. Such, however, had been the numerous versatilities of the constitution of France, and the relative situation of Europe, that they were altogether unadapted to the meridian of these latter times, and have never therefore been able to claim the attention to which they are intrinsically entitled.

In addition to this fresh trial of his powers in Latin Sapphics, Dr. Geddes in the same year offered to the public a translation in iambic rhyme of Gresset's elegant and entertaining poem, entitled *Ver-Vert*, or the Parrot of Nevers.—Jean Baptist Gresset was born at Amiens, in the beginning of the last century. He entered at an early age into the society of the Jesuits, but quitted it a few years afterwards—married a lady possessed of consider-

able wealth, and was fortunate enough to obtain, independently of his wife's property, a lucrative post in the finances. In 1748 he was received into the French academy in the place of M. Darachet, and was ennobled by the unfortunate Lewis XVI, in consequence of having had the honor of complimenting him, on his accession to the crown, in the name of his co-academicians. He died at Amiens, childless, in June 1777, aged 68, and his *éloge*, if I recollect aright, was pronounced in the academy by the amiable but ill-fated Baillie. Gresset was the author of a variety of poems as well as plays, but Ver-Vert has generally been regarded as his masterpiece. It is divided into four cantos, and is of the same class of poetry as the *Secchia Rapita* of Tassoni, the *Lutrin* of Despreaux, or the *Rape of the Lock* of Pope, but without the use of preternatural machinery: having for its subject the playful history of a parrot of the name of Ver-Vert, given to it by the nuns of Nevers, with most of whom the writer, from his connexion in early life with the order of Jesus, was intimately acquainted; and which, on account of the beauty of his plumage, the sweetness of his temper, and the facility with which he learned all the pure and pious languages of the nunnery, as well as the confidential silence which he observed with respect to its numerous little intrigues, obtained in the highest degree the friendship of every

one, and formed the life and spirit of the cloisters in which he was confined.

No saucy coxcomb *parquet* was he ;
 Such as in barbers' shops we sometimes see ;
 And who, in accents insolent and loud,
 Blatter abuse upon the gaping crowd.
 VER-VERT's discourse was decent and devout :
 He learn'd no evil, and no evil thought.
 No word obscene his modest lips escap'd ;
 For wicked *wordlings* he had never ap'd.
 But *hymns*, and *psalms*, and *canticles* he knew ;
 And rare *ejaculations* not a few :
 Could promptly say his *benedicité*,
 And *notre mere*, and *vôtre charité*.
 Nay, I have heard, he sometimes tried his voice
 On *Mary Alacoque's* * Soliloquies ! †

* *Margaret Mary Alacoque* was a visionary of the same order ; of whom we have a very curious life, written by Languet, archbishop of Sens.

† Il n'étoit point de ces fiers perroquets
 Que l'air du siècle a rendu trop coquets,
 Et qui, sifflés par des bouches mondaines,
 N'ignorent rien des vanités humaines.
 VER-VERT étoit un perroquet dévot,
 Une belle ame innocemment guidée ;
 Jamais du mal il n'avoit eu l'idée,
 Ne disoit point un immodeste mot :
 Mais en revanche il savoit des cantiques,
 Des *oremus*, des colloques mystiques,
 Il disoit bien son *benedicite*,
 Et *notre mère*, et *votre charité*.
 Il savoit même un peu du soliloque,
 Et des traits fins de Marie Alacoque.

Unfortunately for his future happiness the nuns of Nantes had heard of his fame, and felt such a longing desire to converse with him, that they could not avoid sending a letter to the holy sisterhood of Nevers, requesting that this miraculous bird might be suffered to pay them a month's visit. The request produced a general shriek of lamentation through all the grated walls: but it was at length complied with. Ver-Vert was embarked upon the Loire, and took his voyage towards Nantes in a galliot filled with company of a very different kind from that to which he had hitherto been accustomed within the immaculate cloisters of Nevers.

In truth, poor VER-VERT sadly felt the change:
 Their garb, their gait, their language—all was strange.
 For not one syllable of gospel-lore,
 Which he with so much care had learn'd before,
 Fell from their antichristian lips, I ween;
 But filthy words, and purposes obscene. *

The modesty of Ver-Vert was at first shocked, and he became pensive and silent; but by degrees

* Aussi VER-VERT, ignorant leurs façons,
 Se trouva-là comme en terre étrangère;
 Nouvelle langue & nouvelles leçons.
 L'oiseau surpris n'entendoit point leur stile;
 Ce n'étoit plus paroles d'évangile;
 Ce n'étoit plus ces pieux entretiens,
 Ces traits de bible & d'oraisons mentales,
 Qu'il entendoit chez nos douces vestales:
 Mais de gros mots, & non des plus chrétiens.

he began to drop his distaste for the conversation which assailed his ears, and in a short time completely exchanged his former vocabulary for the more bold and manly tongue of his shipmates. Thus unexpectedly metamorphosed, he at length reaches the great parlour of the Nantine convent, and mothers, nuns, and novices, all press with equal precipitation to behold the wonderful traveller.

All come, all see this object of delight ;
 And all are ravished at the charming sight.
 Nor without reason—for the rogue had not
 Of his attractions lost a single jot.
 His crimes had nothing in his form derang'd :
 A single plume its colour had not changed.
 Nay, his new, pert, and *petit-maitre* air,
 His warlike look, and confidential stare,
 Enhanc'd his other beauties—Why, just heav'n !
 Should such attractions to a knave be giv'n ?
 Why should not those who are devoid of grace,
 Have reprobation's marks upon their face ? *

* On voit enfin, on ne peut se repaître
 Affez les yeux des beautés de l'oiseau :
 C'étoit raison ; car le fripon pour être
 Moins bon garçon, n'en étoit pas moins beau.
 Cet œil guerrier, et cet air petit-maitre
 Lui prêtoient même un agrément nouveau.
 Faut-il, Grand Dieu, que sur le front d'un traître,
 Brillent ainsi les plus tendres attraits !
 Que ne peut on distinguer et connoître
 Les cœurs pervers à de difformes traits ?

First cause of scandal this.—The prioress
 Would now the brazen-fronted fowl address;
 And, in a serious, half-commanding strain,
 Rebuk'd his petulance.—The bird, amain,
 Replies (the answer ev'ry sister stuns)
 “*What fools, egad! what fools be all the Nuns!*”
 This wicked fragment of a wicked song
 The *nymphs* had taught him, as he sailed along.
 “Good Heavens!” cried mother *Paula*; “such a phrase
 “I never, never heard, in all my days:
 “Fie, brother! fie; such naughty tricks give o'er.”
 The brother, rhyming richly, answer'd, *Wb—e!*
 “*Vive Jesus!*” Mother *Magdalena* cried:
 “*Vive Jesus!*” Mother *Monica* replied:
 “Sure he's a forc'rer in a bird's disguise:
 “How could our sisters such a parrot prize?
 “How could they suffer such a cannibal
 “To live among them?” *Devil burst you all!*
 Was his *response*.—Alternately, they try
 His talk prophane to mend, or mortify.
 They try without effect: for he makes fun
 Of ev'ry novice and of ev'ry nun.
 He imitates, with a pedantic air,
 The precious prattle of the younger fair:
 But apes, with a more grave, important face,
 The nasal gruntings of the antique race.

At last, worn out his patience, he exclaims,
 To the astonishment of all the dames:
 “*Garce! bougre! foutre! sacre! ventre-bleu!*
 And all the other horrid terms he knew!
 Struck silent, here, each rev'rend mother stands;
 And lifts to heav'n her eyes and trembling hands:

While the more simple as they hear him speak
Such hard, harsh words, imagine it is *Greek*.*

A holy convocation is now summoned to determine upon the fate of the reprobate bird, and

* Premier grief. Cet air trop effronté
Fut un scandale à la communauté.
En second lieu, quand la mère prieure,
D'un air auguste, en fille intérieure,
Voulut parler à l'oiseau libertin,
Pour premiers mots, & pour toute réponse,
Nonchalamment, & d'un air de dédain,
Sans bien songer aux horreurs qu'il prononce,
Mon Gars répond, avec un ton faquin,
Par la corbleu ! Que les nones sont folles !
L'histoire dit qu'il avoit, en chemin,
D'un de la troupe entendu ces paroles.
A ce début, la Sœur Saint Augustin,
D'un air sucré, voulant le faire taire,
Et lui disant, si donc, mon très cher frère !
Le très cher frère, indocile & mutin,
Vous la rima très richement en *tain*.
Vive Jésus ! Il est sorcier, ma mère,
Reprend la sœur. Just Dieu ! Quel coquin !
Quoi ! C'est donc-là ce perroquet divin ?
Ici VER-VERT, en vrai gibier de grève.
L'apostropha d'un *La peste te crève*.
Chacune vint pour brider le caquet
Du grenadier, chacune eut son paquet ;
Turlupinant les jeunes précieuses,
Il imitoit leurs courroux babillard ;
Plus déchainé sur les vieilles grondeuses,
Il basouoit leur sermons nazillard ;

at length it is decided to send him back abruptly with an account of his naughty behaviour. He returns to Nevers—exhibits the same proofs of reprobation—and is sentenced to bread and water and solitary confinement for four months. In this state he soon discovers signs of the most sincere contrition, and exchanges all his impious oaths for devout prayers and ejaculations.

Such symptoms of repentance could not fail
With the most rigid casuist to prevail.
Had stern *Nicole*, or *Obstraet**, been his guide,
His absolution had not been deny'd.
In the *Divan* it, then, was wisely judg'd,
That VER-VERT's penance ought to be abridg'd.
No time so fit as when there hap'd to be
O'er all the church a gen'ral jubilee :

Ce fut bien pis, quand d'un ton de corsaire,
Las, excédé de leurs fades propos,
Bouffi de rage, écumant de colère,
Il entonna tous les horribles mots
Qu'il avoit su rapporter des bateaux :
Jurant, sacrant d'un voix dissolue,
Faisant passer tout l'enfer en revue,
Les B. les F. voltigeoient sur son bec.
Les jeunes sœurs crurent qu'il parloit Grec.

* Two celebrated rigidists of the last century.

And He who holds on earth, the keys of heav'n,
 Had then a *plenary indulgence* * giv'n :
 By which, as every theologue can tell,
 The greatest rogue may 'scape, not only hell,
 But ev'n that purging fire and transient pain
 Which souls, not perfectly contrite, sustain
 In the *next* world ; if they have not in *this*
 By due atonement pay'd their way to bliss. †

The day of jubilee arrives—the reconverted parrot is set at liberty, and unfortunately so gorged with sweetmeats, *café au-crème* and *liqueurs* of various kinds, that he dies by the very glut of luxury provided for him. He is interred in the midst of a flood of grief, under the shade of a myrtle tree; a marble monument is erected to him, supporting an urn of polished porphery, on which the following epitaph is engraven in golden letters :

“ Young Novices, whene'er ye hap to rove,
 Without the Sisters' knowledge, to impart
 To one another, in this sacred grove,
 The genuine feelings of a tender heart:

* A remittance of all the *temporal* punishment due to sin, both in this life and in the next.

† Quand on fut sûr de sa conversion,
 Le vieux Divan desarmant sa vengeance,
 De l'exilé borna la pénitence.

Our translator is here not a little paraphrastic : but he still keeps up the spirit of Gresset.

Suspend, sweet souls, if possible, your talk
 One moment, my misfortunes to bewail;
 And, as around this monument you walk,
 Read, and rehearse this short, but moving tale :
 A single line this simple tale imparts :
 HERE VER-VERT LIES, WITH ALL THE SISTERS'
 HEARTS."

'Tis said, however, with no small degree
 Of analogic probability,
 That VER-VERT's self not in this tomb reposes :
 But that He still, by a *metempsychosis*,
 Transmits, like an hereditary chattel,
 From Nun to Nun, his *Spirit* and his *Prattle* !

Upon the whole, this version of Dr. Geddes is possessed of no small degree of merit; it is easy, spirited, and perspicacious. His rhymes are, however, occasionally feeble, and in several passages he deviates with an unnecessary freedom from the original. The part in which he most fails is in the epitaph with which the poem concludes, and which in the French of Gresset is exquisitely tender and elegant. I copy it that the reader may form a comparison :

" Novices, qui venez causer dans ces bôcages
 A l'insu de nos graves sœurs,
 Un instant, s'il se peut, suspendez vos ramages,
 Aprenez nos malheurs.

Vous vous taisez : si ce'st trop vous contraindre,
Parlez, mais parlez pour nous plaindre :
Un mot vous instruira de nos tendres douleurs,
Ci git VER-VERT, Ci gisent tous les cœurs."

CHAPTER X.

Dr. Geddes's Translation of the Bible—Observations upon his Translation—Critical Remarks upon the Pentateuch—Observations upon the Remarks—Anticipated Version of the Psalms—Observations upon the Version. A. D. 1792—1793.

WE now advance to the great and important work for which our author seems almost wholly to have lived, and to which for upwards of twenty years he directed the full force and concentration of all his faculties and talents; I mean his version of “The Holy Bible, or the Books accounted sacred by Jews and Christians: otherwise called the Books of the Old and New Covenants, faithfully translated from corrected Texts of the Originals, with various Readings, explanatory Notes, and critical Remarks.” Such is the title with which this elaborate work is ushered before the public; and such was the entire scope of the author’s intention had Providence prolonged his life to a sufficient date to have enabled him to have fulfilled it. Intention, however, is all that belongs to man—its execution is the sole prerogative of Heaven. Dr. Geddes was summoned from his

arduous and recondite labors, after having barely finished three out of at least eight large quarto volumes, to which the entire work must have extended: leaving a mere fragment of this illustrious and elaborate undertaking, in which the noblest powers of an enlightened mind are applied to the noblest of purposes. I well know that, from the freedom of his language, and the undisguised sincerity with which, in his critical Remarks, he lays open every idea of his soul, this event has been a source of mutual congratulation among many christians, who were alarmed at the audacity of his opinions, and suspicious of the motives by which he was actuated: while others have exhibited a sufficient degree of bigotry and superstition to bless God for his removal, and to trace an immediate interference of Providence in the abrupt termination of what they have been taught to regard as an infidel work.

In writing the biography of Dr. Geddes, I am not called upon to be his vindicator or even apologist. I will freely acknowledge that in perusing the volumes before me I have often wished he had suppressed many expressions they contain, and that upon many points he had conjectured differently; but I nevertheless cannot cease to regard the whole as a most valuable and excellent performance; and instead of blessing God for the

death of the writer, and the abrupt termination of his undertaking, I most sincerely lament that he did not live to complete it, and to have super-added that corrective hand which he himself was well convinced it stood in need of, and which probably might have softened many of its bolder and more obnoxious features. “I am sensible,” says he, “that the picture is imperfect; nay, I fear its imperfections are numerous; and I shall make it the great business of my future life to retouch or amend whatever the remarks of my friends, or my own observations, may point out as a blemish*.

In noticing this voluminous work it cannot be supposed that, in the short space to which I am necessarily confined, I can enter into a critical investigation, or even analysis, of its total contents. I shall merely offer a few detached examples of its text and annotations, as indicative of its general merit; and though published at long and distinct intervals, for the sake of greater perspicuity, I shall unite its different volumes in the present instance, and subject them to one individual consideration. In thus acting I am well aware that I am guilty of a double anachronism, for while volume the first was published in the year 1792, a few months

* Vol. i. Pref. xx.

anterior to several of the articles adverted to in the foregoing chapter, volume the second did not appear till 1797, and volume the third, containing the critical Remarks upon the Pentateuch, till 1800; each constituting a term of several years beyond many publications which yet remain to be noticed. But since to take a view of these volumes separately would be to destroy their totality and accordance, the reader will, I trust, excuse the inconsistency of the arrangement for the sake of its advantage.

As a fair specimen of the version, I shall extract the account of the creation as it occurs in the first chapter of Genesis; which I am the more disposed to do, because those who are in possession of the pamphlet which contains our author's proposals may compare it, in its present form, with that in which he then offered it to the public, and may perceive his readiness to admit of any emendation when fairly proposed to him. I shall for the present omit the notes.

GEN. 1.—*History of the Six Days Creation.*

“ IN the beginning GOD created the HEAVENS and the EARTH. The earth was yet a desolate

waste, with darkness upon the face of the deep, and a vehement wind oversweeping the surface of the waters; when GOD said: 'Let there be LIGHT;' and there was light. And GOD saw that the light was good; and GOD distinguished the light from the darkness; and GOD called the light DAY, and the darkness he called NIGHT.

"The evening had come and the morning had come, ONE day; when GOD said; 'Let there be an EXPANSE amidst the waters, which may separate waters from waters;' and so it was. For GOD made the expanse, and separated the waters below the expanse from the waters above the expanse; and GOD called the expanse HEAVENS. This, also, GOD saw to be good.

"The evening had come and the morning had come, a SECOND day; when GOD said: 'Let the waters below the expanse be collected into one place; that the dry land may appear;' and so it was. For the waters below the expanse were collected into their places, and the dry land appeared. And GOD called the dry land EARTH, and the collection of waters he called SEAS. This, also, GOD saw to be good.

"AGAIN GOD said: 'Let the earth be green with GRASS, with seed-bearing HERBS according to their kinds, and with fruit-bearing TREES, with their seed in them, according to their kinds;' and

so it was. For green was the earth with grass, with seed-bearing herbs according to their kinds, and with fruit-bearing trees, with their seed in them, according to their kinds. This, also, God saw to be good.

“The evening had come and the morning had come, a THIRD day; when God said: ‘Let there be LUMINARIES in the expanse of the heavens, to illuminate the earth, and to distinguish the day from the night: let them, also, be the signals of terms, times, and years. [And let them be for luminaries in the expanse of the heavens, to illuminate the earth;]’ and so it was. For God having made the two great luminaries (the greater luminary for the regulation of the day, and the smaller luminary for the regulation of the night), and the stars; he displayed them in the expanse of the heavens, to illuminate the earth, to regulate the day and the night, and to distinguish the light from the darkness. This, also, God saw to be good.

“The evening had come and the morning had come, a FOURTH day; when God said: ‘Let the waters swarm with living REPTILES; and let FLYING-CREATURES fly over the earth, through the wide expanse of the heavens;’ and so it was. For God created the great sea-monsters, and all the other reptiles, with which the waters swarmed, ac-

according to their kinds; and every flying-creature according to its kind. This, also, God saw to be good. And God blessed them, saying: 'Be fruitful and multiply, and fill the waters of the seas; and let the flying-creatures multiply upon the earth.'

"The evening had come and the morning had come, a FIFTH day; when God said: 'Let the earth bring forth animals according to their kinds; CATTLE, WILD-BEASTS, and REPTILES, according to their kinds;' and so it was. For God made the cattle according to their kinds, the wild-beasts according to their kinds, and every ground-reptile according to its kind. This, also, God saw to be good.

"AGAIN God said: 'Let us make MAN after our own image, and according to our own likeness; who may have dominion over the fishes of the sea, over the flying-creatures of the air, over the cattle and all the wild-beasts, and over every reptile that creepeth upon the earth.' So God created MANKIND after his own image; after the divine image he created them! He created them MALE and FEMALE; and blessed them, and said to them: 'Be fruitful and multiply; fill the earth and subdue it; have dominion over the fishes of the seas, over the flying-creatures of the air, over the cattle and the wild beasts, and over every reptile

that creepeth upon the ground. And, lo! (said God) I give to you every seed-bearing herb on the face of the whole earth, and every tree in which there is a seed-bearing fruit; to be food both for yourselves, and for all the beasts of the earth, and for all the flying-creatures of the air, and for every reptile upon the earth, in which there is vital breath:—all sorts of vegetables, for food.' Thus it was, when God, reviewing all that he had made, saw it to be excellent."

In the first edition of this passage, as it occurs in the Proposals, the phrase, Gen. i. 3, here rendered "a vehement wind oversweeping the surface of the waters," was translated "a mighty wind blowing on the surface," &c. The corrected reading is perhaps the better of the two, though neither of the terms, *oversweeping* or *blowing on*, give us the fair meaning of the Hebrew מרחפת, which in both the other instances, (for there are but three), in which the word occurs in the Bible, implies *internal commotion*, and might here perhaps have been rendered much more pertinently *agitating*. Thus, Deut. xxxii. 11, "as an eagle *fluttereth* or *hovereth* over her young"—that is "*agitateth* them with kindly warmth;" so, Jer. xxiii. 9, "all my bones *shake*—I am like a drunken man," that is, "all my limbs are *agitated*," &c. Our author, in

his Critical Remarks, contends that every thing in the construction of the text determines these words to appertain to the preceding rather than the succeeding period : and the translators of our established version appear, by their punctuation, to have thought the same. If this be true, the phrase *mighty or vehement wind* is certainly more pertinent than that in common use, *spirit or breath of God*, which is nevertheless the literal meaning of the original; for it can scarcely be conceived that the spirit or breath of God could *move upon* or *agitate* the heterogenous fluid of the chaos anterior to the commencement of the creation. Notwithstanding however what is advanced by Dr. Geddes, it does not appear to me decisive that this passage is necessarily connected with the antecedent period : I would rather couple it, on the contrary, with that which follows, and retain the common reading, *breath or spirit of God*, apprehending that it discloses the very first process in the order of creation. But in this case the punctuation in our common Bibles must be varied, and the full pause be removed from the close to the middle of the second verse, thus : “ In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. The earth was yet a desolate waste, with darkness upon the face of the deep. And the spirit of God agitated the waters *even* to the surface. Then said God, ‘ Be light.’ And light was.”

Dr. Geddes has been reprehended by some of our professional critics for not having adopted or rather restored this more concise and energetic reading of "Be light, and light was;" instead of continuing the more tame and circuitous version of the standard text. For myself, I heartily wish he had made such an exchange; yet it would have been but fair in the reviewer, who here reproves him for want of taste, to have added our author's own remark upon the subject, which is as follows: "*Let there be light, and there was light.*" The original, *וַיִּהְיֶה אֹר ויִּהְיֶה אֹר*, is more concise and emphatical: "Be light, and light was." And this is the rendering of our first translator Wickliffe; who uniformly, in all similar phrases, uses the simple imperative: *Be light—be a firmament—produce earth—make we man.* And here I cannot help wondering that our language has not got rid of that vile expletive *there*, than which I know none more useless or insignificant. For example, in the following: "*There was a man in the land of Uz.*" The phrase is just as bad, or rather more improper, than the vulgarism *that there man*. It seems to have crept into our dialect from the Dutch: *Daer was een man, &c.* How much more simple and elegant our Wickliffe: "A man, Joob by name, was in the land of Hus." So the Italian of *Ma- lermi*, "*Nella terra de Hus era un' huomo;*" and

Bruccioli, "Nel paese de Us fu un huomo." So also the Spanish of Ferrara, "Varon fue in tierra de Hus." The French phrase, indeed, "Il y avoit un homme," is more ridiculous than ours; yet still it equally keeps its hold: so difficult is it to purify a language from inveterate and authorized errors. *There*, as an expletive, is bad enough alone: but when the word *let* precedes it, a double pleonasm arises; and the phrase is not only more clumsy and improper, but, when put in the mouth of God, impertinent and degrading. *Let* is the same as *permit*; and when God is made to say, "Let there be light," or even "let light be," he is made to say "permit light to be:" so, "let there be an expanse," is equivalent to "permit an expanse to be;" and "let us make man"—"permit us to make man!" Will no writer of established credit be bold enough to deviate from the beaten track? or shall the dread panic of innovation prevent us from any attempt at meliorating either our language or our government*?"

It is truly wonderful that, possessing these ideas, our author, who has manifested even a surplus of audacity on many other occasions, should have been so deficient in the present instance. The sublimity of this passage in the original,

* Critical Remarks, i. page 13.

which has been so much praised by critics of every nation, Pagan and Mahomedan, as well as Jewish and Christian, depends principally upon its simplicity and brevity : of which the former is nearly, and the latter altogether, lost in our common English versions. “ He said,” says the Psalmist, happily commenting upon it, “ and it was done :” הוּא אָמַר וַיְהִי. The parallel eulogy of Longinus is known to every one; and the Alcoran, by an equally elegant rendering of the Psalmist, has bestowed an equal panegyric upon the historian,

قال كن فيكون Dixit ESTO et FUIT. The Persians and Arabians have indeed many allusions to this admirable picture, of which the following may suffice, quoted from an Arabian poet by Ebn Arabshâh.

لا تخزننا لذي قضي الله يكون
والامر المو كل الي كن فيكون
ما بين تحرك نلحظ و سكون
الحالة تنقضي وذا الامر يهون

Fear not :—what God ordains thou yet shalt see ;

BE, let him say—and it shall instant BE :

Swift as the glancing eye can rest or rove,

The saving Power is present from above.

In verse 4, the word here translated *distinguished*, our author first rendered *severed*, and the alteration is in no respect for the better. It is difficult to find a term in our own language that offers the comprehensive meaning of the original; and perhaps the established reading, *divided*, is preferable to either of these expressions. Yet the Hebrew does not mean simply to *divide*, but to divide by assigning a limit: "he *partitioned*, or divided *by a boundary*, the light from the darkness." In the language of Michaelis, "Er *bestimmte* darauf dem lichte und der finsterniss ihre granzen." No modern meaning of the verb *to distinguish* comprizes this idea. It applies much better, in ver. 18, where the same word in the original recurs: but the English word *partition* might here also have been introduced with perhaps greater accuracy.

In the reading before us our author has made a parenthesis of ver. 16, which does not occur in his first copy, in which he followed the division of the standard text. By this variation he has acquired a greater degree of elegance; and, what is of more consequence, has maintained a closer adherence to the brevity of the original.

In verse 21, the expression, *great sea monsters*, was at first written *great crocodiles*. In the standard version it is *great whales*. The meaning of the original, תנינִים, is uncertain: but it appears rather

to refer to the crocodile than the whale. It seems here however to be used as a generic term, and the more extensive meaning conveyed in the text before us is therefore an improvement.

In verse 24, his first reading, "cattle, reptiles, and *other* terrestrial animals," is advantageously exchanged for "cattle, wild-beasts, and reptiles." The word *reptiles* is indeed well substituted for the common rendering, "creeping things."

The specimen text of verse 31 is as follows: "Thus it was when God viewed all that he had made; and lo! it was very good." I prefer this reading to the amended copy before us: but I very much prefer the standard punctuation to that in both cases introduced by our author; and can see no reason why he should not have continued the pause after the expression "And it was so," as occurs uniformly in the antecedent parts of his own version; nor why the term *good* should in the amended copy, and in this instance alone, be exchanged for *excellent*. "And it was so. And God reviewed all that he had made, and behold! it was very *good*."

These are the chief variations between our author's specimen text printed in 1788, and his corrected copy, as it occurs in his translation of the Bible before us. The changes were principally introduced at the suggestion of correspondents,

some of whom were anonymous; and while they are sufficient to prove that he was not obstinately wedded to his own opinion in matters of fair debate, they cannot but make us regret that he was so abruptly summoned away in the midst of his labors, without having been suffered to avail himself of the same liberal sources of improvement with which he would unquestionably have enriched a second edition of his elaborate undertaking, had he lived to have seen such an edition demanded.

In speculatively discussing the Mosaic narrative of the creation, our author, following the path of Eichorn and Rosenmüller, regards it as allegory combined with literal truth. In his own words, "I believe it to be a most beautiful mythos, or philosophical fiction, contrived with great wisdom, dressed up in the garb of real history, adapted to the shallow intellects of a rude barbarous nation, and perfectly well calculated for the great and good purposes for which it was contrived; namely, to establish the belief of one supreme God and Creator, in opposition to the various and wild systems of idolatry which then prevailed, and to enforce the observance of a periodical day to be chiefly devoted to the service of that Creator, and the solacing repose of his creatures*." For this hypothesis Dr. Geddes sustained much ob-

* Critical Remarks, i. 26.

loquy ; yet he modestly advanced it, leaving himself still open to the correction of other philosophers and critics who might be more fortunate in their theories* ; and the hypothesis itself supposes a far less departure from the letter of the sacred page than that contended for by the most learned of the Jewish Rabbis, as well as by Origen, and almost all the fathers of the christian church, except Epiphanius and Jerom, who regarded the entire description as allegoric, and appears to differ in no essential point from that of the more moderate Austin, who assigned to the history a sense partly literal and partly spiritual †, and whose authority contributed in no small degree to establish this opinion almost exclusively among the western churches.

Every geologic investigation however tends progressively to demonstrate the *literal* truth of

* “ I have now fairly and candidly delivered my opinion of the nature and purport of the Hebrew cosmogony. But I set not up for a dogmatist. I have read much on the subject. I have long revolved it in my mind, and placed it in every possible point of view. I have not drawn my conclusions with precipitation, nor till after a very serious and minute investigation ; and the result is what you have been just now reading.

————— Si quid novisti rectius istis

Candidus imperti ; si non, his utere mecum.”

Critical Remarks, i. 29.

† Augustin de Genesi ad lit. tom. ii. 137, edit. Par. 1555.

the Mosaic narrative, and consequently to confirm our faith in the whole volume of the scriptures. Nature herself witnesseth to the attentive geologist that the earth must necessarily have existed in a state of chaos—that the chaotic mass was an aqueous and not a volcanic fluid—that its present arrangement and phenomena were hence educed; and this not instantaneously, but by a series of separate and creative operations—and that this process of creation followed most precisely the order of the Hebrew historian, as divided into various and distinct acts or periods. That the different fluids of vapor and water were, first of all, separated from the entire mass—that the water, for a considerable duration of time, covered the entire surface of the globe—that it, at length, gradually subsided, and disclosed the summits of our primary mountains, which were soon covered over with vegetable verdure—and that the various genera of herbs and fruit-trees followed in easy succession. It is equally obvious, consistently with the Mosaic account, that the waters were first animated with living creatures, the shells and exuviae of such being traced in immense quantities, even to the present moment, on the summits of the loftiest and most inland primary mountains; whence it is certain that they existed, and that in prodigious shoals, even prior to the subsidence of the waters

and the disclosure of the dry land. It is at least natural to suppose, and is supported by the best principles of ornithology, that the atmosphere was next inhabited, and that the different genera of birds, many of which have long since become extinct, and perhaps existed but for a short period from the date of the general creation, but whose skeletons are still occasionally detected on the surface, or but a little below the surface of our loftiest hills—that these different genera drew their nutriment from the summits of our primary mountains, which now began to be disclosed and to be covered with verdure; being the only animals, excepting fishes, which hitherto possessed a habitation. It follows of necessity, therefore, as stated in the same authentic writings, that terrestrial animals must have had a posterior creation, the surface of the earth now gradually assuming a more solid and extensive appearance, and accommodating them with an augmenting theatre of existence: and that as the more simple of this class of animals was created first, so man, the lord and masterpiece of the whole, and for whose use the rest were respectively formed, completed the beautiful climax, and closed the order of creation. According to minute observation, and the express testimony of nature, this process, indeed, must have been so extremely slow and gradual as to have de-

manded not only six days, but perhaps as many centuries : yet if we once admit that the Almighty did not create the whole by a single instantaneous effort, which he unquestionably might have done if he had chosen, but by a distinct and regular series of exertions—there is no more difficulty in conceiving him to have consumed six years or six centuries than six days in the entire operation : and we have from the volume of nature as ample a proof that the term *day* implies a longer period in the present instance than its literal interpretation would justify, as we have in any of the prophetic writings, in which such a supposition is mutually acceded to by Jews and Christians. Those who wish to be more profoundly instructed upon this subject, may peruse Mr. Kirwan's Geological Essays, in which the same accommodation of the Mosaic history to the actual phænomena of nature is pursued with a very masterly hand, and with an equal degree of benefit to the cause of religion and science.

The speech of Lamech, the most ancient fragment of poetry in the world, and which preceded the era of the deluge, is thus rendered by our author, Gen. iv. 23 :

“ And Lamech said to his wives : ‘ Ada and Zilla ! hear my voice ; wives of Lamech ! listen to my speech. A man I have killed ! but to my own wounding : a young man ! but to my own

bruising. If seven-fold vengeance be taken for Cain, for Lamech must seventy times seven-fold."

The history of Lamech is given so concisely, that it is matter of mere conjecture upon what occasion this speech was delivered. "As I am totally ignorant of its meaning," says the illustrious Lowth, "I have satisfied myself with subjoining the interlineary version of Santes Pagninus*." He nevertheless ventures to divide it into the three following distichs, of which each contains two parallel stanzas, and has rendered it highly probable that such was its original arrangement.

עדה וצלה שמען קולי
נשי למך האונה אמרתי:
כי איש הרגתי לפצעי
וילד לחברתי:
כי שבעתים יקם קץ
ולמך שבעים ושבעה;

Dr. Geddes supposes that the speech was delivered to his two wives Ada and Zilla, in consequence of his having slain a man who began the assault, and of course in mere self-defence; having moreover been severely wounded in the

* Cum plane nesciam quæ sit hujus loci sententia, contentus sum subjunxisse versionem interlinearem Santis Pagnini. Prælect. Academ.

contest. To appease their fears on his account he refers to the protection afforded by the Almighty even to his ancestor Cain, and legitimately deduces, that if a safeguard were granted to the wretch who slew his brother without a cause, it would certainly be extended to himself in a ten-fold degree. Mr. Green has anticipated our author in this supposition, though his name is not referred to; and his version is, in my judgment, superior to that before us. It is more explicit, and divided, like the original, as arranged by Dr. Lowth, into three distichs of two parallel stanzas each. The passage being short, I shall quote it for a comparison.

Lamech said to his wives——

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;

Ye wives of Lamech, give ear to my speech.

I have indeed slain a man for my wound;

Even a young man for my hurt.

But if Cain shall be avenged seven-fold,

Surely Lamech seventy times seven.

All the commentators have been perplexed to find a meaning for Exodus xviii. 10, 11. In our standard version the passage occurs thus:—And Jethro said, “Blessed be the LORD who hath delivered you out of the hands of the Egyptians, and out of the hands of Pharaoh, who hath delivered the people from under the hand of the Egyptians.

Now I know that the LORD is greater than all gods; *for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly he was above them.*" The rendering of this last passage is paraphrastic, with a view of forcing a meaning for the English reader; which after all is still very obscure and indefinite. Our author, differing from every prior expositor, happily transposes it to the end of ver. 10; and by this trivial variation renders the whole period clear and perspicuous. In his text it occurs thus:—And Jethro said, "Blessed be the LORD who hath rescued you from the hands of the Egyptians and of Pharaoh; who hath rescued (*I say*) the people from under the hands of the Egyptians; *because they had dealt haughtily with them.* And now I know that the LORD is greater than all other gods."

The following is a perspicuous correction of the common reading in the latter part of the second commandment, Exod. xx. 5, 6: "For I the LORD thy God am a jealous God, punishing the iniquity of fathers, WHEN THEY DISREGARD ME, in their children, unto the third or fourth generation; but showing mercy unto the THOUSANDTH, when they love me and keep my commandments."

By assigning to יָרַב, Numb. xxvi. 3, the meaning of *to count* or *muster*, instead of *to speak*, which has hitherto been its general acceptation, but to

which our author shows very plausibly it is not necessarily confined, he frees the original from a difficulty which has uniformly attached to it in the contemplation of every critic. "So Moses and Eleazar *mustered* them on the plains of Moab, by the Jordan, opposite to Jericho; from the age of twenty years upward, as the LORD had given in command to Moses." Our translators of the established version, not knowing what to make of the passage, have paraphrased it by the introduction of the following sentence; "Take the sum of the people:" of which not a word occurs in the original.

The phrase, Deut. xxvii. 2, וּשְׂדֵת אֶתֶם בִּשְׂדֵךְ, in our public version rendered "and plaster them with plaster," is happily given in the text before us, "and join them with lime." Thus, "And when ye shall have passed over the Jordan into the land which the LORD your God giveth to you, ye shall erect large stones, *and join them with lime.*"

The exquisite ode of Deborah upon the triumph of the Israelites over the forces of Jabin, Judges v, is translated with different degrees of merit; but upon the whole is, in my estimation, by far the best we yet possess. The following passage is rendered with unrivalled beauty, and I have now Mr. Green's version principally in view:

Blessed, above other women, be Jael,
 The wife of Heber, the Kenite!
 Above all tent-inhabiting women be she blessed!
 Water he asked, milk she gave:
 In a costly bowl she presented butter-milk.
 With her left hand she seized a pin,
 And with her right a ponderous hammer:
 She smote Sisera: she smote him on the head:
 She pierced and perforated his temples!
 At her feet he tumbled and fell down:
 At her feet he tumbled and fell:
 Where he tumbled, there he lay ghastly dead!

The latter part of this extract is, in the original, uncommonly beautiful, and perhaps altogether inimitable. Our public version, however, has a high degree of merit, and need not shrink from a comparison with any translation whatever:

At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay down:

At her feet he bowed, he fell:

Where he bowed, there he fell down dead.

This exquisite iteration cannot but remind us of the pathetic lines in Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*, in which the same figure is indulged with an equal degree of effect:

Fallen! fallen!

Fallen! fallen!

Fallen from his high estate

And weltering in his blood!

On the bare ground exposed he lies,
Without a friend to close his eyes.

In the response of Siferah's mother to her own inquiries, or rather perhaps to those of her ladies in waiting, as given by Dr. Geddes, there is one line that discovers a strange want of taste, though I know that the same colloquial phraseology has been adopted by sir William Jones, in his translation of the odes of Persian and Arabic poets:

Surely they have found, and are dividing a booty!
A girl, a couple of girls, to each brave man*.

But to make extracts would be endless; and I shall close the consideration of this part of our

* It is not in this instance alone that our author, with a view of rendering himself more clear and perspicuous, has adopted, with too little discrimination, the colloquial dialect of his day: thus Gen. xliii. 25, "and they made ready the present against Joseph came at noon, for they heard that *they should eat bread there*," as it occurs in our established version, is given by Geddes, "for they heard that *they were to dine there*." So again, ver. 31 of the same chapter, "and he washed his face and said, *set on bread*," is rendered by our author, "and he washed his face and said, *serve up dinner*." So also, Exod. xii. 11, for "it is the LORD's *passover*," we have, "it is a *skip-offering* to the LORD!" It is needless to multiply instances: and it becomes me to state, respecting the last example, that he himself was soon dissatisfied with the change, and, in his Critical Remarks on the passage, begs the reader would

author's labors by quoting a single additional specimen, and, for the sake of brevity, without any critical remarks whatsoever. In doing this, I open the second volume at random, and I find presented to me 1 Sam. iii. 3. The chapter is short,

alter the word *skip-over*, wherever it occurs, to Phasah, the original term, and which is adopted with little variation in most of the versions.

The diction of every writer is influenced in no small degree by his common habit and manners. Those of Dr. Geddes were plain and simple—his wish was to reduce every subject upon which he touched to the comprehension of the vulgar; and his idiotisms are occasionally therefore deficient in grace and dignity. His friend Wakefield, on the contrary, was accustomed to devote the principal part of his time to the poets and philosophers of Greece and Rome: Mr. Wakefield's language is in consequence scholastic and recondite; and in his version of the New Testament, instead of sinking below, he often soars too considerably above, the common standard, as in James i. 17, which in his first edition is rendered "the Father of lights with whom is no *parallax* nor *tropical shadow*." If another example were necessary I might refer to Dr. Horsley, one of the profoundest scholars and most able critics of the present day. In his admirable version of Hosea, the passage vi. 5, in our common Bibles, "therefore I have hewed them by the prophets," he has rendered, "it is for this that I have *belaboured* them." How this sentence would have been given by Geddes or Wakefield I know not; but every one must perceive it to be characteristic of the bishop himself, a man possessed of twice the muscular strength of either of them, and the most renowned champion of his time, whether in ecclesiastic or legislative polemics.

and I shall copy the whole: the reader may compare it with the public version at his leisure.

The Lord revealeth himself to Samuel, &c.

“THE young man Samuel still ministered to the LORD, under Eli† the priest. In those days, divine oracles were rare: visions were not frequent. Now it happened, at that time, that, when Eli, whose eyes were grown so dim that he could not see, had lain down in his own *sleeping*-place; and Samuel had also lain down in the tabernacle of the LORD, where the ark of God was (the sacred lamp not yet extinguished); the LORD called to Samuel; who answered: ‘Here am I.’ Then, running to Eli, he said: ‘Here am I: thou calledst me.’ He replied: ‘I called not: return to bed.’—Again the LORD called to Samuel: and Samuel arose and went to Eli, and said: ‘Here am I: thou calledst me.’ He answered: ‘I called not, my son! return to bed.’—Now Samuel knew not *that it was* the LORD: for as yet no divine oracle had been revealed to him.—Again, the LORD, a third time, called to Samuel; who arose and went to Eli, and said: ‘Here am I: thou calledst me.’ Eli now understood that the LORD had called to the young man: So Eli said to Samuel: ‘Go to bed;

“*Var. Read.*—† Sep. Syr. Arab. and 1 MS.”

and, if one call to thee, thou shalt say : “ Speak, O LORD! for thy servant heareth.”—Samuel returned and lay down in his own place; when the LORD accosted him, and called to him as before : ‘ Samuel! Samuel!’ Samuel answered : ‘ Speak, †O LORD! for thy servant heareth.’—The LORD then said to Samuel : ‘ Lo! I am about to do a thing in Israel, at which both the ears of every one, who shall hear of it, will tingle. In that day, I will bring upon Eli all that I have spoken from first to last, concerning his family. For I have warned him, that I am about to execute judgment on his house for ever; because, although he knew that his sons disgraced themselves, he rebuked them not: therefore I have sworn, with respect to the house of Eli, that the iniquity of Eli’s house shall never be expiated, either by victim-sacrifice, or donative.’

“ Samuel lay still until morning; when he opened the doors of the tabernacle of the LORD. Samuel was afraid to tell the vision to Eli; but Eli called to him, and said : ‘ Samuel, my son!’ He answered : ‘ Here am I.’ *Eli* said : ‘ What is it, that the LORD hath imparted to thee? I pray thee, conceal it not from me. May God do so and so to thee, nay, more than that; if thou conceal

“ *Var. Read.*—† Syr. Arab. Vulg. and some copies of Sep. See C. R. —V. 21. Sept. and partly Vulg. See C. R.”

aught from me, of all the things, that he said to thee!' Samuel then told him every thing, and concealed from him nothing. 'He is the LORD,' said Eli: 'let him do what, to himself, seemeth right.'—Meanwhile, Samuel grew up, and the LORD was with him: and all the Israelites, from Dan to Beer-sheba, understood that Samuel was truly a prophet of the LORD: for the LORD continued to appear in Shilo; and to Samuel, in Shilo, he revealed his oracles; which Samuel announced to all Israel."

In his translation our author has uniformly confined himself to the duties of a faithful interpreter. In a few doubtful passages he may perhaps have overstepped the modesty of his office: but in general his corrections are well supported by original arguments, by criticisms of prior commentators, or the common consent of approved readings. His style is for the most part plain and perspicuous, conveying the sense of the original in its native simplicity. But his language is occasionally unequal, and strongly partakes of the alternations of his own physical constitution; in consequence of which, in the midst of a passage, most exquisitely rendered in the main, we are at times surprised with scholastic and extraneous expressions, or disgusted with intolerable vulgarisms.

It should never be forgotten, however, that the whole is the work of an individual unassisted by fellow-laborers, and that it constitutes his first attempt. Had he lived to have realized his own wishes, and to have revised it by a second edition, published in twelves without his Critical Remarks, there would have been little room for many of the observations which the cause of truth has thus compelled me to hazard. As it is, it offers, so far as it proceeds, the most intelligible version of the sacred records in the English, or perhaps in any language whatever; and there are few obscure passages in our established translation which this version will not illuminate.

But though in his interpretation he faithfully restricted himself to the duties of a translator, in his volume of Critical Remarks our author conceived himself at liberty to throw off every restriction whatever: and this part of his labors has, in consequence, been open to much severity of attack, and the source of no small degree of undeserved opprobrium.

“In my translation and explanatory notes,” says he, “I have made it a rule to confine myself to the limited province of a mere interpreter; endeavouring to give a faithful version of my corrected originals, without comment or criticism. In the following Remarks I have taken a wider and bolder range: I have throughout acted the critic, and occa

sionally the commentator; although the office of the latter has always been made subservient to that of the former. In both these characters I have freely used mine own judgment (such as it is) without the smallest deference to inveterate prejudice or domineering authority. The Hebrew scriptures I have examined and appreciated, as I would any other writings of antiquity; and have bluntly and honestly delivered my sentiments of their merit or demerit, their beauties or imperfections, as becomes a free and impartial examiner.—I am well aware, that this freedom will, by the many, be considered as an audacious license; and the cry of *heresy! infidelity! irreligion!* will resound from shore to shore. But my peaceful mind has been long prepared for, and indeed accustomed to, such harsh Cerberean barkings: and experience has made me (not naturally insensible) callous to every injury that ignorance or malice may have in store for me.

“ I only enter my protest against downright misrepresentation and calumny. I disclaim and spurn the imputation of irreligion and infidelity. I believe as much as I find sufficient motives of credibility for believing: and without sufficient motives of credibility, there can be no rational belief. Indeed, the great mass of mankind have no rational belief. The vulgar Papist and the vulgar Protestant are here on almost equal terms: few, very few

of either class ever think of seriously examining the primary foundations of their faith.

“ The vulgar Papist rests his on the supposed infallibility of his church; although he knows not where that infallibility is lodged, nor in what it properly consists: it is to him a general, vague, indefinite idea, which he never thinks of analysing. He reads in his catechism, or is told by his catechist, that *the church cannot err in what she teaches*; and then he is told that this unerring church is composed only of those who hold communion with the bishop of Rome, and precisely believe as he, and the bishops who are in communion with him, believe. From that moment reason is set aside; authority usurps its place, and implicit faith is the necessary consequence. He dares not even advance to the first step of Des Cartes’s logic; he dares not doubt: for in his table of sins, which he is obliged to confess, he finds *doubting in matters of faith* to be a grievous crime.

“ But, on the other hand, is the faith of the vulgar Protestant better founded? He rests it on a book, called the Holy Bible, which he believes to be the infallible word of God. Is it by reading the Bible, and unbiaſſedly examining its contents, that he is led to this precious discovery? No: he is taught to believe the Bible to be the infallible word of God, before he has read, or can read it;

and sits down to read it with this prepossession in his mind, that he is reading the infallible word of God. His belief, then, is as implicit as that of the vulgar Papist; and his motives of believing even less specious. Both give up their reason, before they are capable of reasoning; the one on the authority of his parents, or of his priest; the other on the authority of his parents or of his parson: but the priest urges his plea with more dexterity, and with a fairer outside show of probability. If the parson be asked how he himself knows that the book which he puts into the hand of his catechumen is the infallible word of God; he cannot, like the priest, appeal to an unerring church; he acknowledges no such guide: and yet it is hard to conceive what other better argument he can use. If he say that the book manifests its infallibility by its own intrinsic worth, he begs the question. If he affirm, that he knows it to be infallible by the workings of the Holy Spirit in his heart, he plays the enthusiast; and *his* enthusiasm can be no rational motive of credibility for any *other* individual, who feels not the like operations of the same Spirit. Twenty other difficulties surround his hypothesis, which it certainly is not easy to remove; and the best solutions he can give are but gilded sophisms. — On reading the *popish controversy*, as it is called, from the days of Elizabeth to the present day, one

is apt, at least I am apt, to think that the Romanists had, on this point, the better side of the question; by some of their controversialists not improperly called the *question of questions*.—Yet this same question of questions has never been satisfactorily solved by the Romanists themselves. They always reasoned in what is termed a *vicious circle*; and proved the infallibility of the church from the authority of scripture, and the authority of scripture from the church's infallibility. I know what shifts have been made by Bellarmine, Becan, and many others, to get out of this coil; but I have never met with any one who had succeeded.—

“The gospel of JESUS is my religious code: his doctrines are my dearest delight: ‘his yoke (to me) is easy, and his burden is light:’ but this yoke I would not put on; these doctrines I could not admire; that gospel I would not make my law, if Reason, pure Reason were not my prompter and preceptress. I willingly profess myself a sincere, though unworthy disciple of Christ: *Christian* is my name, and *Catholic* my surname. Rather than renounce these glorious titles, I would shed my blood: but I would not shed a drop of it for what is neither Catholic nor Christian. Catholic Christianity I revere wherever I find it, and in whatsoever sect it dwells: but I cannot revere the loads of hay and stubble which have been blended with

its precious gems; and which still in every sect, with which I am acquainted, more or less tarnish or hide their lustre. I cannot revere metaphysical unintelligible creeds, nor blasphemous confessions of faith. I cannot revere persecution for the sake of conscience, nor tribunals that enforce orthodoxy by fire and faggot. I cannot revere formulas of faith made the test of loyalty, nor penal laws made the hedge of church-establishments. In short, I cannot revere any system of religion that, for divine doctrines, teacheth the dictates of men; and by the base intermixture of 'human traditions maketh the commandments of God of none effect.' This I say even of Christian systems, and shall I grant to systematic Judaism what I deny to systematic Christianity? Shall I disbelieve the pretended miracles, the spurious deeds, the forged charters, the lying legends of the one, and give full credit to those of the other? May I, blameless, examine the works of the Christian doctors and historians by the common rules of criticism, explode their sophistry, combat their rash assertions, arraign them of credulity, and even sometimes question their veracity; and yet be obliged to consider every fragment of Hebrew scripture, for a series of 1000 years, from Moses to Malachi; every scrap of prophecy, poesy, minstrelsy, history, biography, as the infallible communications of heaven, oracles of divine truth?

Truly, this is to require too much from credulity itself.

“ In the Hebrew scriptures are many beauties, many excellent precepts, much sound morality: and they deserve the attentive perusal of every scholar, every person of curiosity and taste. All those good things I admit and admire, and would equally admire them in the writings of Plato, Tully, or Marcus Antoninus: but there are other things in great abundance, which I can neither admire nor admit; without renouncing common sense, and superseding reason: a sacrifice which I am not disposed to make, for any writing in the world.

“ This language will, I doubt not, seem strange to the systematic Christian, who has founded his creed, not upon reason or common sense, but on the prejudices of education; who is a Papist at Rome, a Lutheran at Leipzig, and a Calvinist at Geneva; a Prelatist in England, and a Presbyterian in Scotland; a Nestorian in Syria, in Armenia an Eutychian—for such local nominal Christians my Remarks were not intended, they would spurn them with zealous indignation. But if there be, as I trust there are, in each of those communions, men who have learned to think for themselves, in matters of faith as well as in matters of philosophy, and who are not Christians merely because they

were born of Christian parents, and bred up in Christian principles; but because, on the most serious and mature examination, they find Christianity a rational, a most rational religion—to such I address myself with confidence; and by such I expect to be listened to with patient candour*.”

This address to the reader our author courteously submitted to me in manuscript when first composed; and it was the subject of much private discussion. I thought many of his conclusions illogical, and attempted to prove that the comparison between the writings of the Pentateuch, and the legends and pretended miracles of many of the christian churches was unfair and inadmissible. Either the doctor, however, was too much attached to his personal opinion, or which is more likely, I did not do sufficient justice to my own argument: in consequence of which the address was prefixed to his volume of Remarks, and published with little or no alteration a few days afterwards.

The chief objection that has been fairly urged against him, upon a general perusal of the Remarks themselves, and it is an objection upon which almost every other is founded, is his disbelief in the divine mission of Moses and of the authority under

* Crit. Rem. Address to the Reader, p. iv.

which he pretended to act. "The fact is," says he, "that all the antient legislators required a greater or less degree of implicit obedience to their respective laws; and for that purpose feigned an intercourse with some Divinity to make that obedience more palatable to the credulous multitude.

"But was this, it will be said, the case with Moses? Why not? And where is the proof that Moses did not, in this, act like other legislators? This concession, so far from diminishing the character of Moses and the wisdom of his laws, greatly enhances both; and is perfectly compatible with the only *divine inspiration*, which sense and reason can admit—at least, which my sense and reason can admit*.

"Indeed, I cannot conceive how Moses could have governed so rude, so stubborn, so turbulent a nation; and made them submit to such a code of laws as he devised for them; without feigning an immediate intercourse with the Deity, and ascribing to him every injunction laid upon them. If, in spite of this precaution, and in defiance of God, they were constantly murmuring and rebelling; what must it have been, if Moses had only spoken as from himself?

* "For every good gift and every perfect boon cometh down from above, from the Father of lights. Jam. i. 17."

“ But although his communications with God were frequent, and almost on every emergency, he was particularly careful to keep the people at a distance from the intercourse : no one must approach the mount while he is receiving the Decalogue, under pain of death : no one must hear the responses given from the oracle, but through him; no one but he sees God ‘ face to face :’ no one must reason against any of his ordinances; no one object to any of his decisions : because his ordinances and decisions are all from the mouth of God. In a word, the people must have no more religious or political knowledge than he is pleased to parcel out to them, by himself or his brother Aaron, whom he makes his prophet and priest: the rest have nothing to do with the *law* but to *obey it* *.”

It is an insuperable objection to this part of our author's creed that it is contradictory to itself. Dr. Geddes admits his most ample belief in the divine authority of Jesus Christ, “ whose gospel is his religious code, whose doctrines are his dearest delight :” but Jesus Christ uniformly avowed the inspiration of Moses, by expressly adverting to such inspiration in the delivery of one prediction fulfilled in his own person. It is in every respect in-

* Crit. Rem. p. 41.

consistent and illogical therefore to accredit the divine mission of the author of the christian faith, and yet to deny the same authority to the Hebrew legislator. One principal reason that operated upon our author in support of this denial was, the many acts of cruelty which were perpetrated at the instigation of Moses, and from which he was anxious to exculpate the Deity; and particularly the total destruction and extermination of the seven Canaanite nations, and the transfer of their land and possessions to the Israelites. "I cannot possibly believe," says he, "that ever a just, benevolent Being, such as I conceive my God to be, gave such a sanguinary order to Moses and the Israelites as in the book of Deuteronomy is said to have been given*." The explanation of this transaction, advanced by the very learned and liberal bishop of Landaff in his *Apology for the Bible*, is known to every one, and is satisfactory to most. But our author not only acknowledges himself not satisfied with it, but labors, in a long and argumentative note, to prove its impotence and irrelevancy. He will not allow any simile drawn from the phænomena of nature, such as the ravages of earthquakes, pestilences, or inundations, to be coincident with this event as recorded in the Bible. "When the earthquake," says he, "swal-

* Crit. Rem. p. 425.

lows up, the sea overwhelms, the fire consumes, the famine starves, or the plague destroys; we are totally ignorant by what laws of nature, or concatenation of causes, the desolating events happen; we see only the dismal effects: and no consequence can rationally be deduced from them, against the principle of moral equity, so often before mentioned. From such events no one could derive an argument for the lawfulness of dispossessing or injuring his neighbour, either in his property or person; no argument for the lawfulness of burying alive idolators, drowning heretics, starving atheists, &c. &c. From such events the famous bishop of Cagliari, Lucifer, could never have inferred, that it was the duty of the orthodox to kill the Arians, and even the emperor Constantius who abetted Arianism. From the earthquakes at Catania, Lima, Lisbon, the Holy Inquisition could never have concluded that it was lawful and meritorious to burn the bodies and confiscate the goods of Moors, Jews, and wicked infidels. But the express command of God to extirpate whole nations, on account of their sins, and to transfer their goods and chattels to another chosen people, was a precedent exactly suited to their sanguinary purposes, and triumphantly employed by them to obviate all objections on the score of cruelty.

“The same inferential arguments were made use of in the Valdensian persecution, and indeed in every persecution for the sake of religion, since persecution began. The supposed divine commission given to the Jews to extirpate the Chanaanites and Amalekites, has ever been in the mouths of Judaizing Christians a positive and plausible plea for committing the most cruel injustices*.”

I freely confess I cannot see the difference here contended for: and even Dr. Geddes himself must have admitted the possibility of God's predetermining and prognosticating, as well as immediately operating the total extermination of a whole people, or must have disbelieved the tremendous history of the destruction of Jerusalem, and the propagation of his predicted curse upon the Hebrew race to the present moment. Here I think the simile is at least admissible; and I am surprised that our modern polemics have not occasionally adverted to it. If it be consistent with the justice and benevolence of the supreme Being that the Jewish nation, his own peculiar people, should, on account of the enormity of their sins, be in their turn attacked in their inheritance; be subjugated to a foreign power; become the prey and plunder of a long succession of capricious, cruel, and avari-

* Crit. Rem. p. 425.

cious tyrants; have their city and temple at length assaulted; be loaded with every possible calamity which pestilence, famine, and torture, their own mutual treacheries and animosities, and the implacable enmity and ingenuity of their adversaries could invent, during the continuance of this tremendous siege—if it be consistent with the same adorable attributes that upwards of a million of them should fall victims to so complicated a scourge, and that the wretched remnant who escaped should be suffered to wander about as outcasts and vagabonds over the face of the whole earth, equally despised and derided by every nation among whom they might acquire a temporary abode—if it be consistent with these attributes that this tremendous visitation should be persevered in for a period of at least eighteen centuries, thus punishing from age to age *the children for the sins of their fathers*—if the case before us, which we cannot but believe, be consistent with the justice and benevolence of the Deity—surely the case recorded (a case of far inferior vengeance) demands no great credulity to obtain our assent, nor strength of reasoning to reconcile it with the moral perfections of the supreme Being.

It is in consequence of this disbelief of the inspiration of Moses that our author either totally rejects the various miracles ascribed to him, or la-

bors to reduce them to the standard of natural phænomena. This indeed is not a new attempt, either in antient or modern times, by biblical commentators who would wish to wrest from the Pentateuch all those appearances of preternatural agency in favor of one elect and isolated people, which are supposed to have been a serious stumbling-block with professed infidels. He has not, however, been more successful than his predecessors: and I trust that the frequent failure of such an attempt, even in the hands of scholars of high mental endowments, and who are honestly engaged in the pursuit of truth, will deter posterity from so fruitless and injudicious an effort.

Where this unreasonable incredulity however does not obtrude itself, our author's observations may uniformly be read with a high degree of entertainment and instruction. They will be found to comprise an astonishing mass of biblical erudition, and to evince a perseverance and energy of mind that fall to the lot of few theologians. In the following instance, and it is the last I shall select, we have a happy proof of the successful application of his critical powers to a case of real difficulty among both Jews and Christians of every description.—Exod. vi. 2, 3. “Again the LORD spake to Moses and said to him: ‘I am the LORD who manifested myself to Abraham, to Isaac, and

to Jacob, as God the OMNIPOTENT (*Shadi*); but my name JEVE (*he that will be*) to them I did not manifest.' ”

From a cursory view of the Hebrew Scriptures *in their present state*, it should appear that the name JEVE, or JEHOVAH as we commonly write it, was known to all the patriarchs here enumerated, notwithstanding this assertion to the contrary; and consequently that the period of the delivery of the Israelites from their Egyptian bondage was not the æra in which the Deity first communed with them under this appellation. Upon this point Dr. Geddes gives us the ensuing note, which I shall take the liberty of copying at large :

“ *But my name IEVE [Jehovah] to them I did not manifest.* ושמך יהוה לא נודעתי להם. So both Heb. and Sam. texts without any notable variety of reading; and so, negatively, all the Ant. versions, save Saadiah, who has this singular rendering, אללד. *But God is my name.*—But how can the name *Jehovah* be said *not to have been manifested* to the more ancient patriarchs, when it occurs so frequently in their history? With respect to the mere historical narrative, the answer is obvious: the Hebrew historian, whoever he was, to whom the name *Jehovah* was known, might without any impropriety use it proleptically in speaking of the pa-

triarchs, and even in writing the history of the creation. But there are passages where the patriarchs themselves are found addressing their God under the very name *Jehovah*; which they could not have done, if it had been unknown to them! Certainly not, and here lies the great difficulty in explaining the present passage. Two principal expedients have, by commentators, been employed to remove the difficulty. 1. It has been supposed, that אֱל is here equivalent to אֱלֹהִים; and that the comma should be rendered: ‘and by my name Jehovah was I not manifested to them?’ But this interpretation is not only contrary to the common rules of grammar, but destroys the analogy of the context, and would never have been thought of, but for the sake of reconciling contradictions.— Another more subtle solution is given by Vatable, and retailed by Dathe and Rosenmüller. I shall give it in the very words of Vatable: ‘Quòd si quis contendat nomen יְהוָה fuisse etiam patribus ante Mosen cognitum et usitatum; nihilominus tamen erit hujus loci sententia, quòd Deus promiserit quidem patribus terram Chanaan, non tamen impleverit temporibus patrum: nunc autem reipfa impleturus sit; ut confirmetur veritas nominis sui, quo dicitur יְהוָה, i. e. *consistens, constans, firmus et verax in promissionibus suis*. In hanc sententiam quidam etiam magni nominis apud Hebræos ex-

ponit locum istum in hæc verba: “Promisi eis promissiones, et in omnibus eis dixi ad eos: Ego sum Deus omnipotens: at in nomine meo יהוה non sum notus factus eis. Hic non scribitur *Non notum feci*, sed *Non notus factus sum*: i. e. *non cognitus factus sum eis in proprietate veritatis meæ, propter quam vocatur nomen meum יהוה*: i. e. VERAX, FIDELIS, CONSTANS: quia ecce promisi eis, et nondum præstiti, seu confirmavi.” Such is the amphibological language which eminent Jewish and eminent Christian interpreters put in the mouth of the Lord.—But what then are we to say of those passages where the patriarchs address the Lord by his name Jehovah? We must say that they are corrupted passages, and that יהוה has slipped into them for אלהים or אנני. It is well known how often these words have been interchanged; and what variety of lection is in different copies, with respect to them.—But let us review the several passages where the name Jehovah is put in the mouths of the patriarchs, before Moses.—The first instance is an early one indeed: it is in Gen. 4. 1. where Heva is made to say קניתי איש את יהוה, literally, ‘I have gotten a man Jehovah;’ or, as some render, ‘from Jehovah.’ But here Sep. Vulg. and both Arabs have *God* instead of *Jehovah*: and I have no doubt that this is the genuine reading. See the Rem. on the place.—The next instance is that of

Noah, Gen. 9. 26. who in his benediction of Shem says ברוך יהוה אלהי שם commonly rendered 'Blessed be the Lord God of Shem;' but which I render 'Blessed of the Lord be Shem!' leaving *the Lord* in the version, because it is in all the Hebrew and Samaritan copies, and in all the versions save the two Arabs: but believing it a real interpolation, as I have said in my Rem. on that place.

"The third instance is in Gen. 15. 2. where Abraham is made to say אדני יהוה *My Lord Jehovah*. But here there is a variety of lection to which I refer my reader at p. 94, of these Remarks. The same words occur again ver. 8; but here also is a variety of lection both in the Text and Versions. Two MS. have 'Jehovah, my Lord;' and two, with Vulg. Syr. Onc. have 'Lord God.'

"The fourth instance is in Gen. 16. 2. where Sara is made to say: 'Jehovah hath denied me children:' and here indeed there is no variety of lection, save that both Arabs have 'God.'—Again in ver. 5. the same Sara says: 'May Jehovah be judge between me and thee:' but here all the copies of Sep. as well as both Arabs, have 'God.'

"In Gen. 19. 13. the angels say to Lot: 'So great before Jehovah, &c.' and 'Jehovah hath sent us, &c.' and here the Arabs only have 'God.' In ver. 14. Lot uses the same term, speaking to his sons-in-law; where again the Arabs only have 'God.'

“ In Gen. 22. 14. Abraham is made to call the altar which he builded on Mount Moria ‘ I E V E - I R A E,’ *Jehovah will provide* : and here all the versions, save the Arabs, have also ‘ the Lord.’

“ In Gen. 24. 3. Abraham adjures his servant by ‘ Jehovah;’ nor is there here any variety of lection, save in the Arabs.—The same is the case in ver. 7. where Abraham says : ‘ Jehovah the God of the heavens, &c.’

“ In ver. 12. Abraham’s servant says : ‘ O Jehovah, the God of my master, &c.’ But here 2 MSS. have *Adoni* instead of *Jehovah*, and 1 MS. has *Adoni Jehovah*. The Arabs, as usual, have ‘ O God, the God of my master, &c.’

“ In ver. 27. the same servant says : ‘ Blessed be Jehovah, the God of my master, &c.’ where all the versions accord : except the Arabs. So again in the same verse, and in verse 35. 40. 42. 48. 52. 56.

“ In Gen. 26. 28. Abimelech says to Isaac : ‘ We have clearly seen that *Jehovah* is with thee.’ Where the Arabs only have *God* : and yet it is highly improbable that a king of Palestine should use the word *Jehovah*.

“ In Gen. 27. 7. Isaac bids Esau bring him venison : ‘ that I may bless thee (says he) in the presence of *Jehovah* ;’ where the Arabs only have *God*.—In the same Ch. ver. 20. Jacob says : ‘ *Jehovah*, thy God, put it (the venison) in my way.’

Here Vulg. has only *voluntas Dei tui*.—In ver. 27. Isaac says that the fragrance of his son's garments is like the fragrance of a full-grown field 'which *Jehovah* hath blessed.'

"In Gen. 28. 20. 21. Jacob twice mentions the name *Jehovah*; according to Sep. and once according to all the copies, save the Arabs.

"In Gen. 99. 32. Lea is made to say, on the birth of Reuben: 'For *Jehovah* hath given me a son.' Here not only both Arabs, but also Syr. and Perf. have *God*: and indeed it is barely credible that Lea would use the name *Jehovah*.—Yet in the next verse she is made to use it again; and likewise in ver. 35; in both which places the Perfic version, a very literal one, and both Arabs, have *God*.—In Ch. 30. 18. she says: '*God* [not *Jehovah*] hath given me my reward.' But here Onk. and the Thargums have *Jehovah*.

"In Gen. 30. 23. Rahel says: '*God* hath taken away my reproach:' but here Onk. and the Thargums, with three Hebrew MSS. have *Jehovah*.—Again, ver. 24. she says: 'May *Jehovah* add to me, &c.' but Sep. Syr. Perf. and both Arabs have *God*.—In the same Ch. ver. 27. Laban says: '*Jehovah*, I guess, hath blessed me, &c.' But Sep. Syr. Vulg. Perf. and both Arabs have *God*: nor is it likely, that Laban, a Syrian, would use the other name.—In ver. 30. Jacob says: 'Through

my conduct *Jehovah* blessed thee :’ where some copies of Sep. Perf. and both Arabs have *God*. Some copies of Sep. have both, *Kyrios o Theos*; but most copies have *Kyrios* only.

“ In Gen. 31. 49. Laban says : ‘ May *Jehovah* spy between me and thee, &c.’ but Sep. Perf. and both Arabs have *God*.

“ In Gen. 32. 9. al. 10. Jacob says, ‘ Thou, *Jehovah*,’ who saidst to me :’ and to this agree all the versions, save the two Arabs.

“ Gen. 49. 18. Jacob says, or some one for him : ‘ Jehovah! from thee I wait for salvation :’ but this has very much the air of an interpolation; as I have observed on that passage.

“ These, if I mistake not, are all the places where the Patriarchs, from Adam to Jacob inclusively, have directly mentioned the name *Jehovah* : and they are certainly more than enough to prove, that that name was known to them before the vocation of Moses ; if we were sure that they had actually spoken the very words put in their mouths by the compilers or copiers of the Pentateuch. But who will affirm that this is the case ? The number of places where *אלהים* and *יהוה* have been interchanged is very great ; and the variety of lection between the Versions and the Text, and between the copies of the Text itself, is astonishing. Need we wonder then, that the word *יהוה*, once

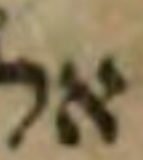
become the peculiar name of the God of the Hebrews, should, by historians posterior to that period, be often substituted for the more ancient and more general name אֱלֹהִים, even in addresses to the Deity, or in relations concerning him? A prolepsis is readily granted with respect to the latter; and we must either grant it with respect to the former, or say that the writer of Exodus is in contradiction with the writer of Genesis: for it is, in my apprehension, impossible to reconcile the passage of Exodus that gave rise to the above observations, with the name *Jehovah*'s being known to the preceding patriarchs.—If the name *Jehovah* were known before it was here communicated to Moses, and were the common appellation of the God of the Patriarchs, the question of Moses, Exod. 3. 13. was needless, was impertinent: for God had before told him, ver. 6. that he was ‘the God of his (Moses’s) fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.’ It is clear then that Moses, by asking what was the name of this same God of his fathers, knew not that he had any particular name; and that particular name *Jehovah* is now for the first time made known as the peculiar God of the Israelitic nation. All this is perfectly conformable to the present declaration, Exod. 6. 3. ‘I am Jehovah; who manifested myself (or appeared) to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,

as *God the Omnipotent* *אל שדי*; but my name *IEVE* (*Jehovah*) to them I did not manifest.—In fact it is by the former name he calls himself to Abraham, Gen. 17. 1. *אני אל שדי* ‘I am God the Omnipotent.’—To Jacob, Gen. 35. 11. he makes the same declaration; which Jacob himself alludes to in his last speech to Joseph, ‘God, the Omnipotent, appeared to me at Luz.’ Gen. 48. 3. I know that in Gen. 28. 13. he is made to say: ‘I am *Jehovah*, the God of thy fathers.’ But the word *Jehovah* is wanting in the best copies of Sep. and must be charged on the interpolators or correcting copyists of the Hebrew Text. For the general manner in which God announces himself to the Patriarchs is, merely by calling himself the *God of their fathers*; as Gen. 28. 13. —or *the very God* of their fathers; as Gen. 46. 3. —or by denominating himself from the place of his appearance: as *the God of Bethel*, Gen. 30. 36. and 31. 13. and Jacob more than once denominates him by the same title. It is observable that, although the patriarch Joseph mentions the name of God about twenty times, he never once mentions him by the name *Jehovah*. It may be said that he abstained from mentioning that name in Egypt, either not to give offence, or because they would not have understood him; but what shall we say, when we see him using the same caution to

his own brethren, after his making himself known to them? He tells them not that '*Jehovah* sent him before them, for their preservation;' but '*God*,' Gen. 45. 5. and repeats the same words in the verses 7. 8. and 10.—A more remarkable instance still is in Gen. 50. 17. and 19. In the former his brothers request him to forgive their transgression against him, because they are the servants of his '*father's God*:' and in the latter, he desires them not to fear: '*for (says he) a reverer of God am I.*'—Surely here was the place for using the name *Jehovah*, if that name was known either to Joseph or his brothers. Again, when in the same Ch. ver. 24, he adjures his brethren to carry his bones into the land of Chanaan; he says not: '*Jehovah* will certainly visit you—' but '*God* will certainly visit you;' and repeats the same words in the next verse.

“The benedictions of the patriarchs tend to establish the same reasoning. ‘May God, *the Omnipotent*, אֱלֹהֵי שָׂרָי (says Isaac to Jacob, Gen. 28. 3.) bless thee and make thee fruitful.—‘May the God, whom *my fathers* worshipped (says Jacob Gen. 48. 15.) the God who hath tended me until this day, bless the lads.’—And in the most solemn benediction of Joseph, Gen. 49. 25. *Jehovah* is never mentioned—but ‘the God of Jacob’—‘the God of his father’—‘the Omnipotent,’ אֱלֹהֵי אֲבִי.

“ It matters not whether these were the very words of Jacob and Isaac, or of the poetical historian who put them in their mouths. The poetical historian must have made them speak something like the language of their age, and use terms that were then known. In short, unless we suppose the Pentateuch to be a compilation of jarring elements assemblaged by different hands, we must allow that the name *Jehovah* has been put in the mouths of the patriarchs prior to Moses, and in the mouth of God himself by some posterior copier : for the same person who wrote the third verse of the sixth chapter of Exodus could not have been so inconsistent with himself, as to make the name *Jehovah* familiar to the patriarchs before that period.

“ Let me just add, that it is a strong presumption against the name *Jehovah* being known before Moses, that it enters not into the proper names of either persons or places; save in the name IEVE-IRAE, already noticed : whereas we find  frequently in such names. The very name of *Israel* himself is of that class. But very early indeed this usage seems to have taken place. Two of Cain's sons were so denominated, *Mebujael* and *Metbusael*. Besides these, we have in the book of Genesis, *Mabalaleel*, *Ismael*, *Kemuel*, *Bethuel*, *Magdiel*, *Jakelel*, *Jemuel*, *Malchiel*,—and in a different combination, *Eldaah*, and *Eliphaz*; whereas

there is not a single person's name which has any part of *Jehovah* in it, either in its first or last syllable.—*Jochabed*, the mother of Aaron, has, indeed, been alleged as one instance to the contrary: ‘Ex hoc nomine (says Simonis) colligunt falsum esse, quod quidam putant, Mosis demum tempore nomen *Jehovah* revelatum fuisse, ob locum Exod. 6. 3.’ Onomast. p. 517. The inference is rash, and unwarranted. For, in the first place, it is not certain that all names beginning with י are compounded of יהוה and some other word: perhaps none of them are so compounded. Clearly to entitle *Jochabed* to such an etymology, it ought to be written יהוכבד.—But waving this, and granting that *Jochabed* יוכבד is a compound of יה and כבד, may not this name have been given her by way of honour, even after her death? Or may she not have been still alive at the time of her son's mission to Egypt, and then received this name?—At any rate, this single name, whenever it be derived, or whenever it were given, cannot stand as a proof that the name *Jehovah* was known priorly to Moses, against so positive a testimony as that of the passage in Exodus which gave rise to this discussion.”

The regular series of our author's translation terminates with the Book of Ruth. At the re-

peated and urgent request, however, of many of his warmest friends, he consented to anticipate the time in which the Book of Psalms would appear in their proper order, and to prepare them for a separate publication in twelves, accompanied with such critical notes alone as might be absolutely necessary for their elucidation. These he expedited to the press as he completed their version, but he died in the very midst of their translation and impression, Psalm cxviii. constituting the last to which he applied his correcting hand. Though printed, they have not yet therefore been published; but it is intended they should be shortly, in conjunction with a preface which he had drawn up for the purpose, the autograph of which is at this time in my possession. Upon these Psalms he appears to have bestowed an uncommon degree of attention, and most of the difficulties which attach to them are satisfactorily solved or considerably diminished. Many of them indeed are admirably translated; though I will not deny that while they are generally enriched with an ampler portion of our author's common beauties, they are at times degraded by his common defects. We meet with terms occasionally introduced which are inconsistent with either elegance or simplicity of style, and with phrases inharmoniously involved and destructive of the very rhythm they are intended

to convey. There are two grand points in which, in his version of the Psalms, he has deviated from the plan he proposed in his Prospectus and Letter to the Bishop of London, and which, excepting in one or two instances, he has uniformly adhered to in his regular series of translation. The one is in rendering the Hebrew term יהוה (Jeve) JEHOVAH, instead of LORD, and the other in dividing the text into parallel lines correspondent with the idea of a poetic measure in the original.

Having been necessarily led into a notice of this posthumous remain of our author in the present place, the reader may perhaps expect I should offer some specimen of its merit. I will not disappoint him, and shall for this purpose select Psalm lxxxiv.

1 "FOR THE FIRST MUSICIAN, ON THE GITHITH:

A PSALM OF THE SONS OF KORAH.

2 HOW lovely are thy tabernacles, JEHOVAH, *God* of
hosts!

3 my soul longeth, nay languisheth for the courts of JE-
HOVAH!

mine heart and my flesh cry aloud for the living God!

4 The very sparrows find an abode,
and the swallows a nest, where they may lay their
young,

by thine altars, JEHOVAH, *God* of hosts!

my king, and my God!

- 5 Happy they, who dwell in thy house,
and are continually sounding thy praise.
- 6 Happy they whose strength thou art :
security reigns in their hearts.
- 7 If they pass through a desolate valley,
they shall drink from a fountain :
nay, the rain itself shall bestow *its* blessings.
- 8 They shall go on, from stage to stage,
until they appear before God, in Zion !
- 9 JEHOVAH, God of hosts ! hear my prayer :
give ear to me, O God of Jacob !
- 10 O God, our protector, behold ! and regard thine an-
ointed.
- 11 For better is a day, in thy courts,
than a thousand *elsewhere* !
I would rather live at the threshold of the house of my
God,
than dwell in the tabernacles of the wicked.
- 12 For a sun and a shield is the God JEHOVAH :
JEHOVAH giveth grace and glory :
he withholdeth nothing that is good
from those who walk in innocence.
JEHOVAH, God of hosts !
happy those who trust in thee."

"Notes.—Ver. 2. *The swallows.* From a similarity of sound, the Hebrew word *deror*, or *darur*, is supposed to be the Arabic *dururi*; which Forskal saw in Egypt. But as he gives not the Arabic name either in Arabic or Hebrew characters, the similarity of sound is an unsure authority. I have therefore, with the antients, kept to the swallow, which we know builds in the walls of houses as well as the sparrow. For the rest, some interpreters, thinking it indecent that birds should nestle in the temple of God, have violently wrested the text

to a different meaning: and our Green thus disposes of it: 'Even the sparrow findeth herself a house, and the ring-dove a nest, where she may lay her young—but *when shall I approach thy house and thy altars?*' A strange ellipsis this!—But temples of every sort have been every where the resort of certain birds: and the orientalists consider this so far from being a profanation, that they will not allow the nestlers to be disturbed.—Ver. 6, 7. These verses are to me altogether unintelligible in all the versions that I have seen. I have tried to make sense of them, without changing a single letter in the text; but only giving new, and I trust well founded meanings to three or four of them. But see C. R."

Of the C. R. or Critical Remarks, here referred to, unfortunately not a syllable was ever written. And it is the more unfortunate, because there is a considerable deviation in the present version from every one that has preceded it, and an elegance and perspicuity which are well worth supporting. I do not know that I shall be rendering our translator any service by offering my feeble assistance on the present occasion, or that he himself would be satisfied with any observation I may be able to advance; but I will at least hazard the attempt, as some explanation seems absolutely necessary.

The chief deviations in the present from all prior renderings are in ver. 6, 7, 8, as here numbered; respecting which, whoever will take the trouble of examining the common English version, those of Pagninus, Montanus, and the Septuagint—the

exposition of Theodoret upon this last, or of Jerom upon the original itself, and of comparing them with each other, will at once perceive the truth of our author's assertion, that all of them are altogether, and he might have added equally, unintelligible. He appears to have divided the passage into the following metrical arrangement of seven lines, which is a different construction from that generally chosen, by which it is limited to six. The division however is a matter of mere arbitrary taste, and produces little or no influence on the sense.

אשרי אדם עגולו בכ

מסלות בלבבם

עברי בעמק הבכא

מעון ישיתוהו

נסברכות יעטה מורה

ילכו מחיל אלחיל

יראה אלהים בציון

Ver. 6. "*Security reigns in their hearts.*" In the standard version, "*in whose heart are the ways of them:*" the whole of which is unintelligible, though nearly half is added to what occurs in the original in order to make it sense. The translators followed the rendering of Pagninus, who has

given it just as obscurely as themselves: “Beatus homo cujus fortitudo est in te, et VIÆ IN CORDE EORUM.” The version of the Septuagint is very different, and trends, so far as it is capable of a meaning, rather nearer to that before us, *Αναβασεις εν τη καρδια αυτου διεθετο*, “he has placed exaltations, (*exalted feelings*) in his heart:” or, as it is explained by Theodoret, “pious thoughts upon God.” The expression “exalted feelings,” however, even as implied in the Septuagint, is a paraphrase; for *αναβασεις* means simply “assent,” “exaltation,” “sublimity.” I have said that this interpretation verges in some degree towards that of Dr. Geddes: the original term which the Seventy have rendered *αναβασεις* is *מסלות*, the general meaning of which is neither *exaltation* with the Septuagint, nor *security* with the text before us, but simply *ways*, as rendered in our common version; yet the radical verb *סל* allows of its being translated “*high-ways*” or “*acclivities*,” and hence “*mounds*,” or “*munitions*,” all which ideas are allotted to different ramifications of this radix in different parts of our common Bible, and particularly Jer. i. 26, Isai. xlix. 11, Job xix. 12. While the Septuagint therefore has taken the former of these senses, and applied it figuratively, Dr. Geddes has taken the latter, and applied it in the same manner: “in their heart ‘dwell’ munitions” or “securities;” or in his own

language, "security 'reigns' in their hearts." In Mendelssohn's German version :

Heil dem der standhaft ist, durch dich !
Dies macht in ihrem sinn gebahnte steige.

Joy to him, who is steadfast through thee—
It is a power which ADVANCES progressively in their heart.

Ver. 7. "*A desolate valley.*" In the established text "valley of Baca." The meaning of *Baca* we know not : it was probably some bitter and disgustful shrub, which we no longer recognize, but which required a considerable portion of moisture, and hence only flourished in low situations : on which account, "the valley of Baca" was perhaps a proverbial phrase for the "*valley of tears,*" or that depression of spirits which is uniformly produced by perpetual grief : and it is thus, indeed, rendered both by the Septuagint and Aquila ; the former of whose versions, instead of **הבכא** (*Abaca*), has *κλαυθμωνος*, "the valley of *the place of mourners,*" and the latter *κλαυθμου*, the "*valley of weeping,*" or "*of tears ;*" while Jerom, with a bolder image still, renders it *per vallum mortis*, "through the valley of *death.*" The passage, however, when strictly rendered, is as follows : "Pass they through the valley of Baca—they possess a well-spring;" i. e. "Pass they through the valley of bitterness—they 'still' possess a 're-

freshing' fountain ;" or, in the language of Dr. Geddes,

If they pass through a desolate valley,
They shall drink from a fountain.

Id.—“ *The rain itself shall bestow its BLESSINGS.*” In the common version, “ the rain also filleth the POOLS.” The Hebrew term ברכות may be rendered, with equal propriety, *pools* or *blessings* : and from the extreme value of a beautiful sheet or current of water, and the delightful sensation produced by its appearance in the arid soil of Palestine, as well as in many other oriental countries, the use of one general term to express the two ideas is still common. Thus in Arabic سيل “ a river,” نهر “ rain,” مطر “ a torrent,” imply also “ kindness” or “ liberality.” The Persian باران extends equally to both ideas, as does also the term ندي which in its primitive sense is *dew*, and in its figurative *benignity*. In the present instance, however, the primitive sense is with our author, for ברכה can only signify a *pool* or *river*, by a secondary interpretation. His own rendering is that uniformly preferred by the Septuagint, Jerom, and Montanus, all of whom write *blessing* or *blessings* : thus the first of these three, και γαρ ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑΣ δώσει ο νομοθετων ; and the second, who is followed by Montanus, “ BE-

NEDITIONI quoque amicietur doctor." The translators of our common version, in their rendering of this passage, as in that of ver. 6, have followed Pagninus, and with too close a step, who translates "*etiam PISCINAS operit pluvia.*" PISCINAS, however, which is literally FISH-pools, is a most inappropriate interpretation, considering the general scenery of the original, which can scarcely be supposed to have supplied fishes with an habitation.

Ver. 8. "*They shall go on.*" Almost all the versions, except that of Pagninus, use the future tense both here and in ver. 7, instead of the present, which is adopted by himself, and consequently by our authorized translation: "they go, &c." for "they shall go;" "they make," for "they shall make, &c."

Id—"From stage to stage." In the original מַחֲלֵי אֱלֹהִים; and I much prefer the common rendering, "from strength to strength," which is a mere Hebraism for "with progressive" or "increasing strength," to the translation before us. חֵלֶה may unquestionably imply a *stage* or *resting place* in a journey, as well as the *strength* or *vigor* which is hence derived: but the latter sense is most agreeable to our interpreter's own context, "happy they whose STRENGTH thou art,—SECURITY reigns in their hearts;" and is the common

version of all the translators. Thus the Septuagint, *ἐκ δυνάμεως εἰς δύναμιν*. So Jerom, *de fortitudine in fortitudinem*. So also Montanus, *de virtute ad virtutem*. In like manner Mendelsohn,

So wallen sie von kraft zu kraft.

Pagninus forms almost an individual exception; and, in this instance, our authorized Bible has laudably deviated from him, “Eunt,” says he, “de turmâ ad turmam;” “they go from company to company,” or, as it might be rendered in reference to the different forces of an army, “they go from *force* to *force*.”

In perusing Mr. Reeves's Collation, which is an ingenious and excellent performance, I find that, in order to make sense of the period before us, he has been compelled to alter *מסלות* into *מעלות*, and to break the unity of the passage by the introduction of two parentheses. The present version, if I mistake not, renders such an arbitrary variation unnecessary.

The Githith or Gathith, for which, according to the title, this Psalm was composed, is imagined to have been a musical instrument invented at Gath. The Nehiloth, mentioned Psal. v. was a wind instrument, a sort of pipe or hautboy: the Githith was, in all probability, a sort of lute or lyre, an instrument with strings.

Of the term סלה (sla, or, as it is generally written, selah), which occurs at the end of ver. 4 and 8, our translator has taken no notice. It is generally agreed to have been a mark announcing a change of modulation in the music. According to Hederic, it was a direction to the choristers in the temple-service to *raise their voices* on their instruments. This can scarcely, I think, be correct, as it generally occurs in psalms of a plaintive air; and in a note on Psalm iii. Dr. Geddes has this observation: "The precise meaning of the word is not well known. To me it appears to resemble what the Italians call *adagio*, or mark of *slow* time; and perhaps our word *slow* *al. slaw* is derived from it." The first part of this conjecture is by no means improbable; and if there be much fancy in the last, it is a fancy which has been exceeded in the derivation of this very term by most of our etymologists, and which Mr. Whiter, at least, may enlarge upon to great advantage.

CHAPTER XI.

Additional observations upon Dr. Geddes's Bible—Various oppositions he had to encounter—Hostility of the catholic bishops resident in England, after having intimated their approbation—Death of bishop James Talbot, and appointment of bishop Douglas by the Roman see, in opposition to the address of the English catholics—Animosity of the great body of the catholics to Dr. Geddes—Encyclical prohibition of his Translation of the Bible, subscribed by bishops Walmsey, Gibson, and Douglas, but refused to be subscribed by bishop Thomas Talbot—Dr. Geddes's Address to the Public—Private correspondence between bishop Douglas and himself—His suspension by Mr. Douglas from all ecclesiastic functions—His public Letter to the Right Rev. John Douglas, Bishop of Centurie, and Vicar Apostolic in the London District—Observations upon the controversy. A. D. 1793—1794.

It cannot be supposed that a work, pretending to such an independence of mind as the translation we have just been reviewing, composed by a man who was determined on every occasion to think for himself, and on many occasions to deviate from the beaten track, however sanctified by a succession of ages, or the common consent of mankind,

should make its entrance on the public theatre of the world without producing some degree of commotion, and exciting a greater portion of alarm than of approbation. What may thus fairly be conjectured was actually realized; and the opposition and difficulties our author had to encounter are amply related by himself, in an *Address to the Public*, which he brought out in the ensuing year 1793.

It should not be forgotten that at this period, however, he had only appeared in the character of a translator, and not of an expositor of the sacred writings; his volume of Critical Remarks not having been submitted to the public eye till at least seven years afterwards. "I have not," says he, "set up for an interpreter of scripture; my humble walk is that of a mere explainer; of a laborious pioneer who endeavours to smoothe the way for future commentators. I have not to my knowledge thwarted a single word of holy writ to support any one system of religion. I have not so much as attempted to disclose its allegories or its analogies, but have strictly confined myself to the bare literal meaning*." His speculative opinions were nevertheless suspected; and in fact he never attempted to conceal, or even to soften them, upon any occasion: he might at times

* *Address to the Public*, p. 2.

have been liable to the charge of imprudence in advancing them when there was no absolute necessity, but his most inveterate enemy could never accuse him of hypocrisy.

While his friends therefore approved of his labors, and strongly exhorted him to persevere, he found that the voice of his friends and the encouragement of the liberal and unprejudiced was strenuously opposed by the repeated clamors of ignorance, bigotry, and superstition. He resisted the torrent of abuse to which he was daily exposed with the courage of a man who was self-conscious of rectitude of intention, and might fearlessly appeal to the Almighty as to the honesty of the motives by which he was actuated. "Verging," says he, "towards the end of my labour and of my life, I confess it would make the evening of the latter unpleasant if I should be found to have laboured in vain. I trust, however, that such will not be my lot*." But though he still hoped and courageously resisted the calumnies and contumelies which were excited against him, they sunk heavily upon his heart, and highly exacerbated his irritable system. A fever, the joint offspring of disappointed hope in a favorite pursuit, and of abuse where he expected approbation, was the speedy consequence,

* Address to the Public, p. 1.

and it was nearly a twelvemonth before he recovered from the effects of its severity.

What principally afflicted him in the midst of his complicated trials, was the violent opposition he experienced from the very church into which he had been initiated from his birth, to whose authority in all lawful points he readily and honestly submitted, and whose fellow-members he had chiefly hoped to benefit by his elaborate undertaking. To prevent any hostility from this quarter, he had with more than ordinary prudence abstained from all personal or at least nominal interference, in the controversy which I have already stated to have taken place respecting the bill for the relief of Roman catholics, as well as respecting the appointment of bishop Douglas to the office of vicar apostolic to the London district, instead of bishop Berington, who was almost unanimously recommended for this purpose to the Roman see by the catholic body at large: and to influence his fellow catholics in his favor, he had waited upon bishop James Talbot, the predecessor of Mr. Douglas, upon the commencement of his version, frankly to inform him of his design, and, if possible, to obtain his patronage. The liberality of this worthy prelate I have had occasion to notice already, and his conduct upon the application of Dr. Geddes was in perfect accordance with the character he

had uniformly evinced. He told him that he would be very far from *opposing* his design, though there were two reasons which would prevent him from publicly *patronizing* it: the one was, a fear of being himself censured by many conscientious but prejudiced catholics, who he well knew would disapprove it; and the other, that himself and his brother vicars apostolic had some thoughts of giving a revised edition of the Douay translation, with which the version of Dr. Geddes might in some measure perhaps interfere, and which, added he, is in some degree our own property. They separated in the most perfect friendship and good humor. His lordship lived long enough to see and read our author's Prospectus, his Proposals, and his Specimens; and though, consistently with his first and ingenuous declaration, he never became a subscriber to his work, he informed lord Petre, in a correspondence upon this subject, that he only withheld his name lest it should be inferred that he officially approved it; and he urged the same motive for his silence to Dr. Geddes, in person, a few months only before his decease.

Thus far therefore our author had no reason to expect any general want of countenance, far less any avowed and official hostility on the part of his own church. To ensure his success still more completely however, and, as an act of com-

mon respect and courtesy, at the same time that he sent his different introductory pamphlets upon his Bible version to bishop James Talbot, under whose jurisdiction he resided, he also sent copies of them to the vicars apostolic of two other catholic districts, bishop Thomas Talbot and bishop Gibson, who felt the politeness of this attention, and honored him with a visit in return; in the course of which interview they thanked him for his repeated presents, and so far from insinuating the minutest disapprobation of his intention, handsomely complimented him upon his industry and learning, and left him in the pleasing hope that he should meet with their future applause.

Such applause however never followed: instead of encouragement he experienced abuse, and instead of applause, persecution. The death of the venerable bishop James Talbot occurred shortly afterwards; and it was well known to bishop Douglas, his successor, that notwithstanding his nominal silence upon the late catholic controversy, and the general predilection which was manifested by the catholics at large for his rival bishop Berington, Dr. Geddes had in his heart espoused, in both instances, the popular cause, and was in habits of the closest friendship and intimacy with many of the worthiest and most opulent of its leaders. Mr. Douglas, therefore, upon his triumph at the

Vatican, and his succeding to the district of bishop James Talbot, felt himself from the first moment unfriendly, not merely to the works but to the very name of Dr. Geddes; and readily joined first of all with bishop Walmsley, and afterwards with bishop Gibson himself, neither of whom could yet bury in oblivion their inglorious opposition and defeat in parliament, in frustrating, as much as lay in their power, our author's sanguine expectations.

They commenced their persecution prior to the appearance of his first volume, by charging him with an adherence to doctrines repugnant to the catholic religion, and by citing him before their tribunal, to reply to this heretical accusation.—It never was a part either of the practice or creed of Dr. Geddes to contend against the exercise of an authority whose principles he admitted to be legitimate, be the organs of that authority who or what they might. He obeyed the summons; and notwithstanding the irrelevancy of many of the questions proposed, one of which was, whether he approved of the French revolution of 1789? and several others which, to adopt his own language, “had no more to do with religion than with the antipodes*,” he displayed so much candor, so thorough a knowledge of the different questions

* Letter to the Bishop of Centuriæ, p. 36.

proposed, and so firm an attachment to the genuine principles of primæval catholicity, while he strenuously contended for the right of private judgment in all matters that were not absolutely decided by the church, that his three judges appeared perfectly satisfied with his creed, or rather were themselves completely silenced and confounded, and suffered him to depart without further molestation.

Dr. Geddes was not sorry that he had thus enjoyed an opportunity of stating officially before a court of competent jurisdiction his real opinions and principles. He trusted that both the voice and hand of malevolence would now no longer be exerted against him; and to prove how thoroughly he banished every idea of enmity from his own bosom, upon the earliest publication of the first volume of his translation of the Bible he presented a copy of it to bishop Douglas, accompanied with the following letter :

July 10, 1792.

“ I beg your lordship’s acceptance of a copy of the *first volume* of my new Version of the Bible; which I flatter myself you will find calculated to promote the real interests of religion; whatever superficial readers and little critics may think or say to the contrary.

“I should have liked, and indeed once expected, to see your lordship’s name in the list of my encouragers: but unaccountable prejudices have, most probably, deprived me of that satisfaction. This, however, shall never hinder me to pay, at all times, that deference to your character, which I know to be due. It is to you, the bishop of Centuriæ, my lord, as chief pastor of the catholics of this district, that I offer this mark of my catholicity,

“And have the honour to be, &c.”

The present was retained, but no answer, I believe, was returned to the letter. Our author soon became sensible, however, of the sort of answer he was likely to receive. Envy, ignorance, and malice, in the various shapes of monks, friars, and witlings, which for many years antecedently had been busy in depreciating his labors, now stalked abroad more boldly than ever, and, countenanced by official approbation, assassinated his reputation with redoubled fury.

“It would be endless,” says he, in his Address to the Public, “to enumerate the whole catalogue of evil offices which those men have done, or endeavoured to do me. Every species of detraction, from the sly insinuating whisper to the

bold and barefaced calumny, has been employed to render me odious to the English catholics. Elijah's vision was here inverted, the *still small voice* preceded the *tempest*: but, surely, the Lord was neither in the *tempest* nor in *the still small voice*. It was a very different spirit that presided over this progressive storm: it was the spirit which represented the precursor of Jesus as a demoniac, because he was uncommonly abstemious; and Jesus himself as a wine-bibber, because he ate and drank like other men!

“ Even before my Prospectus appeared, my very intentions were scrutinized and suspected. Whatever impartiality I might profess, they could not but think that I meant to favour the cause of Protestantism, and that my Bible (as they termed it) would turn out to be a Protestant Bible. They knew me to be one, whose principles were not strictly orthodox; who lavished praises on Heretics and Heresiarchs; who associated with Churchmen, Dissenters, Socinians; who indulged paradoxes; who laughed at rosaries, scapulars, agnus Deis, blessed medals, indulgences, obits, dirges, &c.; who was an enemy to religious orders, hostile to the pope's prerogatives, disrespectful of his vicars, and an open abettor of *profane* innovations! Thus blending some truth with much falsehood, they worked up a medley of imputations, which

could not fail to make a deep impression on the minds of their credulous devotees; who have generally no other criterion to judge of men or books, but the *αὐτός ἐφα* of their good *directors*. Here the *directed* seem to have taken their lesson well. They seized on the wholesale cargo, and carefully retailed it, with some small adulterations, among their friends and familiars: the mouth of every devotee was converted into a trumpet of defamation.

“The publication of my *Prospectus* seems for a while to have blunted the shafts of slander, and softened the fierceness of the foe. It was not, indeed, what they had expected; at least, not what they *wished* it to be: and, on that occasion, some of them joined or affected to join in the general applause. But the demon of rancor soon returned to take possession of his former hold; and, one would think, brought along with him *seven other spirits more wicked than himself*. My *Letters* to the Bishop of London* and to Dr. Priestley, the few *Critical Remarks* that accompanied my Proposals

* “It was imputed to me as a crime, that I applied to a protestant bishop for counsel; it was like *inquiring of the God of Ekron, as if there had been no God in Israel*. I shall only say, that if I had known either bishop or priest among the catholics equally capable of solving my queries, to *him* I should certainly have applied.”

and Specimen, and my *General Answer* to my correspondents, but especially my known attachment to the catholic committee, and approbation of their measures, stirred up the half-smothered embers, and rekindled the latent sparks of enmity into an open and running conflagration.

“Calumny, now grown shameless, came stark-naked abroad: it was no more *the pestilence, that stalked in darkness, but the destruction that wasteth at noon-day**—It was now evident, they said, that my scheme was inimical to *catholicity* (I suppose they meant *popery*); favourable to heresy, injurious to the church, and tending to infidelity. By one friar it was asserted, that I had the intolerable presumption *to correct the Holy Ghost*! He classed me, indeed, with Houbigant, Kennicott, and Michaelis, for which he has my thanks. Others went about warning the pious faithful not to subscribe to my work, and in this their efforts were certainly not unsuccessful: in the list of my subscribers there are not fifty catholic names! A devout lady, of the first rank, was so fearful of being contaminated, that she gave orders to her stationer, five years before the work went to the press, by no means to take in for her Dr. Geddes's Bible. But the shortest and most effectual way to

*“Ps. xc. 6.”

hurt a work is to blacken its author's character. For this purpose all my steps were watched; the visits which I made or received, the companies which I frequented, the conversations which I held, the friendships I contracted, were all noted down in the black book of those inquisitors, as so many choice topics of future animadversion. Went I to Lambeth or London House? I had gone thither to read my recantation, and was on the point of being a curate, a rector, a prebend, a dean of the established church*! Went I to Edinburgh or Glasgow? I had become a disciple of Calvin, and abjured my former faith before the General Assembly! Went I to Hackney? I had been seduced into Arianism by Price, or wheedled into Socinianism by Priestley; and was soon to be one of the professors of the New College! Thus was I alternately a Churchman, a Presbyterian, an Arian, and an Unitarian, just as it pleased their fancy, or served their purpose. It is some wonder, that they never sent me to the Tabernacle to embrace Methodism, nor to the Synagogue to profess myself a Jew! They have sent me to worse places than either, as will hereafter appear."

* "One man, at least, a friarized upholsterer, saw me with his own eyes, in broad day-light, going to officiate in an English chapel, in my cassock and surplice: and this lie was believed by many a good catholic."

At length, to finish the climax of his persecution, forth issues an ecclesiastical edict, denominated a Pastoral Letter, signed by Walmfley, Gibson, and Douglas, as apostolic vicars of the western, northern, and London districts, in which this favorite undertaking of our author, and upon which he had expended upwards of twenty years, was authoritatively prohibited to the faithful under their respective jurisdictions. “As the church of God,” says this episcopal interdict, “has at all times watched with a most jealous care over the heavenly treasure of the Sacred Scriptures, and has condemned the practice of printing the said Scriptures, or any expositions of, or annotations upon the same, unless such have been severally examined and approved of by due ecclesiastical authority: hence it is incumbent upon us to warn the Faithful committed to our care against the use and reception of a certain work of this kind, as far as it has yet appeared, which is destitute of these requisites; and which is entitled *The Holy Bible, or the Books accounted sacred by Jews and Christians: otherwise called, The Books of the Old and New Covenants; faithfully translated from the Originals; with Various Readings, Explanatory Notes, and Critical Remarks; by the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL. D.*”

It is very obvious that this pastoral prohibition

proceeded rather from a spirit of party and personal revenge than from any real regard to the cause of religion, not only from the silence with which our author had been so long suffered to persevere in his translation, and the compliments upon his erudition with which he had previously been flattered by one or two individuals of these same vicars apostolic, but more especially from his having been united in this ecclesiastical censure with his friend sir John Throckmorton, who, as I have observed in a former chapter, had been one of the most zealous members of the catholic committee, and had written several argumentative and unanswerable letters, both upon the subject of the catholic bill, and the right inherent in English as well as in French catholics of electing their own ordinary in cases of prelatic vacancy, leaving to the tiara the mere power of confirming their choice. These letters indeed, as more immediately affecting the interests of the apostolic vicars themselves, are more severely reprehended in this circular interdict than Dr. Geddes's heretical version; for while not less than twelve propositions are censured in the former, and "the Faithful in general committed to our care, as they tender their eternal salvation," are cautioned "against maintaining or adhering to the doctrines above censured;" and while the clergy under their re-

spective districts are prohibited "from preaching, teaching, maintaining, or supporting *any* of the aforesaid condemned *opinions*, under penalty of suspension from all divine functions*," the Translation of Dr. Geddes, comprising even the Explanatory Notes and Critical Remarks, are only interdicted because, says the same instrument, "it wants the requisites which the church requires in publishing works on scripture:" that is, adds our author upon this passage, "which the discipline of the council of Trent requires." But the discipline of the council of Trent is not the church, any more than the church is the discipline of the council of Trent. The point directly referred to was, that it had not received the official imprimatur of the author's ordinary. To which objection I shall have occasion to revert in the course of a few pages.

These, however, are not the only proofs that the catholic prelates, and the more violent of their adherents, were at this time highly exacerbad against the members of the late catholic committee and all who espoused their cause. Of the members of the committee itself there were few indeed to whom some personal incivility had not been manifested; an unwarrantable persecution had at

* Pastoral Letter, p. 21.

this very time been commenced and urged with great rigor against Dr. Wilks, one of the very able writers of the Blue Books; and Mr. Joseph Berrington, whose learning and liberality reflect credit on the whole body of English catholics, had been refused the religious faculties for which he had applied, and was consequently incapacitated from teaching, preaching, and administering the sacraments.

It is not to be supposed that a conduct thus arbitrary and uncharitable would be tamely submitted to by a man of the irritable nerves and polemical powers of Dr. Geddes; and while with real pleasure and exultation he thanked bishop Thomas Talbot, the vicar of the middle district, for withholding his name from so unchristian an interdict, he immediately commenced hostilities against the subscribing prelates, by the following letter to Mr. Douglas, apostolic vicar of the district in which he usually resided.

“ January 4, 1793.”

“ For the sake of your own character, my lord, it truly grieves me to see your name annexed to such an ignoble piece of writing as that which you have lately published with two other pope’s vicars.

“ The feeble weapons which you employ against Sir John Throckmorton he is well able to repel

himself, and will probably repel them, with vigour and manliness, on his return to England; meanwhile, since you have been pleased to go entirely out of your road for the purpose of aiming a side-thrust at me, you cannot take it amiss if I should try to defend myself; and, by way of requital, expose to the public view the futilities, false reasonings, and rash assertions that abound in your Pastoral Letter."

He soon fulfilled his intention by his Address to the Public, in which, as I have already observed, he minutely states the difficulties he had to contend with, and the severe persecution he had suffered from the very body of christians in whose spiritual welfare he was principally interested, and for whose spiritual benefit he had principally devoted his time and talents. With his usual candor and simplicity of heart he consented to preadvise bishop Douglas of his intention, which he did in the following address:

" June 25, 1793.

" MY LORD,

" You must remember that, on the first appearance of your *Pastoral Letter*, I hinted to you, that I meant to answer it; at least in as far as it regarded me. More important objects have

hitherto prevented me from fulfilling my intention : but I now, again, tell your lordship that an answer is preparing, and that I wish you to see it, before it go to the press. For although your conduct, my lord, toward me, has been neither that of a christian bishop nor a polite gentleman, I am not disposed to imitate your conduct.—As a prelude to that *Answer*, I have at present in the press *An Address to the Public*, &c. in which there is one paragraph that concerns your lordship. This paragraph I here subjoin, that if there be any fact in it which you can deny, or any part of the case which you shall think mis-stated, you may have an opportunity of rectifying the one and contradicting the other. A written answer is immediately requested, as I look for a proof-sheet in a day or two. Meanwhile I have the honour to be, &c.

“ *Paragraph alluded to.*

“ It is useless now to mince the matter : three *vicars apostolic*, who call themselves the bishops of *Rama*, *Acanthos*, and *Centuriæ*, have actually issued a *Pastoral Letter* ; of which, indeed, the main and primary purpose is to censure an excellent work of sir John Throckmorton's, which they could not answer : but into that censure they

have made an awkward shift to lug me head and shoulders along with the baronet; and, in truth, I am not ill-pleased to find myself in such company: but I am not, I cannot be well-pleased to see a work, on which I have spent the better part of my short days, condemned in the lump, and prohibited without a hearing. This is truly to erect a court of inquisition, and to introduce a transalpine or transpyrenean mode of proscription in the face of British liberty: to attempt to impose upon us literary fetters, which neither we nor our fathers could bear.—I will pay my respects to those Right Rev. Prelates, as soon as I am at leisure: my present business is with the public at large, and to the public at large, both catholic and protestant, I appeal from this unjust, informal, and capricious sentence.”

The sort of answer he was likely to receive, provided he received any at all, the reader who has attended to the spirit with which the entire controversy was conducted on the part of the opposers of the catholic bill, will readily preconceive. It arrived two days afterwards in the following shape:

“London, June 27, 1793.”

“SIR,

“Since it is evident from your letter to me that you adhere to and maintain the doctrines,

which were censured by the Pastoral Letter, to which you allude; unless you signify to me, in writing, on or before Friday the fifth day of July next, your submission to observe the injunction contained in the 21st page of the said Pastoral Letter, viz. "We prohibit our clergy, in particular, from preaching, teaching, maintaining, or supporting any of the aforesaid condemned opinions," I hereby declare you suspended from the exercise of your orders in the London district.

"JOHN DOUGLAS, Vicar Apostolic.
"Rev. Alex. Geddes, LL. D."

Here the apostolic vicar completely overshot his mark. In prohibiting *the Faithful* from perusing our author's translation, it was in his power to do him an essential injury, and under the effects of that injury he was laboring at the present moment; but I have already observed that he had long *voluntarily* relinquished the exercise of his religious functions, that he might enjoy the greater liberty of attending to his favorite biblical exertions. This Mr. Douglas must necessarily have been apprised of from his own official situation: and to suspend his antagonist from the *exercise* of what he never had *exercised* for many years past, is, at the same time, to commit a most ridiculous blunder, and to evince the most impotent malevolence. Our au-

thor, however, was as ready at his pen as the bishop, and instead of waiting till the 21st of the ensuing month, returned him the following answer a few hours afterwards,

“ June 28, 1793.

“ MY LORD,

“ I thank you for having so readily answered my last letter, if that may be called an answer, which you have been pleased to return. It is certainly not the answer I expected : however, as it is an answer, and a prompt answer, I am satisfied : it is probably the best you could make : and, *ad impossibile nemo tenetur*.

“ From your profound silence as to the main object of my Letter, I may fairly conclude that my complaints were just, and my suspicions well founded : so I will not press your lordship further on that topic. But, my lord, I must take the liberty to tell you, that you most grievously mistake, when you say, that “ it is evident from my letter to you, that I *adhere to* and *maintain* the doctrines which were censured in the Pastoral Letter.” This, my lord, is not only not *evident*, but utterly *false*.—In my whole letter, I have not said a word about those doctrines, much less have I testified my adherence to them, and still less yet have I maintained them. I have indeed called for

John Throckmorton's work an excellent one; and so I deem it: but has your lordship yet to learn, that a work may be excellent on the whole, and yet exceptionable in some of its parts? I think the Annals of Baronius, on the whole an excellent work, although there are more than twice twelve propositions in it which I highly disapprove.—Hume's History of England I take to be the very best work of its kind; but do I, for that, *adhere* to or *maintain* all the principles of Hume? Truly this may be logic at Rome or Valladolid; but it will never do in the meridian of London.

—“By calling fir John's book an excellent work, then, I have not expressed my *adherence* to any one of the propositions which you have censured in it.—But I have said, “You could not answer his book.”—I say so again, my lord; at least I have yet seen no answer to it: and indeed, if you could have answered it, I hardly think you would have had recourse to *censure*. My saying then, that you could not answer it, is no *evident proof*, is no *proof* at all, that I *adhere* to the doctrines which you have censured in it. Whether I really do adhere to those doctrines, or not, is another question; which has nothing to do with our present correspondence: I may, possibly, let you into the secret on some other occasion: all that I now assert, is, that there is no sort of evi-

dence before your lordship that I *adhere* to or *maintain* the forefaid doctrines : confequently, my lord, your hypothetical *declaration* is *absurd*, *abusive*, and *premature*.

“ But perhaps, my lord, you wifh to have another occafion of exercifing your epifcopal authority, and of playing with *cenfures*, as children do with a new ball. I wifh your lordship much joy of the bauble : but, beware, my lord, beware of playing too often with it.—Read St. Chryfoftom on Ecclefiaftical Cenfures; and learn from him a little more moderation. Permit an *old* *prieft* to tell you that it is a very great ornament in a *young* *bifhop*.—As to myfelf, my lord, I am not afraid of your threats, and fhall laugh at your cenfures, as long as I am confcious that I deferve them not. I will never *submit* to the *injunctiion* contained in the 21ft *page* of your *Pastoral Letter*, becaufe I deem it a rash, ridiculous, and informal *injunctiion*. If this you think a fufficient reafon for declaring me *fufpended from the exercife of my orders in the London Diftrict*, much good may that declaration do you ! The truth is, I exercife no *pastoral* function in your diftrict : I have neither taught, preached, nor adminiftered any *sacrament* in it for many years back : I have not even faid prayers in any public chapel for fix years at leaft. To oblige a friend or two, I have fometimes, not often, faid

private prayers at their houses : but since you seem to envy me the pleasure of obliging a friend, I forego that too. But, my lord, you cannot hinder me to *pray* at home; and at home *I will* pray, in defiance of you and your censure, as often as I please. The chief *Bishop* of our souls is always accessible; and, through him, I can at all times have free access to the *Father*; who will not reject me but for voluntary unrepented crimes. In the panoply of conscious innocence, the whole thunder of the Vatican would in vain be levelled at my head.

“ You see, my lord, that I have not required even the short time you grant me, to signify my disposition to submit to the injunction in your Pastoral Letter. Such a submission, my lord, will never be made by

“ ALEX. GEDDES,

“ A Priest of the Catholic Church.

“ *To the R. R. John Douglas,
Bp. of Cent. and Vic. Ap. in
the London District.*”

He had now completely broken all connexion with his apostolic superior, and nothing remained but to carry into effect the further menace contained in his Address to the Public, of paying his respects to the Right Rev. Prelates who had thus

interdicted and injured him *ex cathedra*, by arraigning them in return before the tribunal of the world at large.

To threaten with our author was to execute, and before the expiration of the year we find announced in the public prints a quarto pamphlet of 55 pages, entitled "A Letter from the Rev. Alexander Geddes, LL. D. to the Right Rev. John Douglas, Bishop of Centuriæ, and Vicar Apostolic in the London District." This letter is introduced by a short preamble addressed to the English catholics, in which he informs them that it is designed as a diatribe against all the three vicars equally, who subscribed the pastoral edict; and that he merely confines himself in the title to the name of bishop Douglas, as being the superior of the district in which he generally resided. The letter itself is an examination of the unpopular mode by which the bishop obtained his appointment to the vicarial chair, and the unconciliating character he had evinced ever since his possession of it; the persecution our author himself had sustained from his unquiet spirit; an impeachment of Mr. Douglas's conduct as equally uncharitable, illiberal, and incompatible with the legitimate powers with which the vicarial chair had vested him; a defence of sir John Throckmorton's publication prohibited in conjunction with his own;

and an examination of the doctrines and authority of the council of Trent, to which alone the arbitrary conduct manifested against himself could appeal for support. In adverting to his own personal injury he observes, "Here, then, is a large, important, expensive work, the darling child of its author, and the chief prop of his literary reputation, forbidden to all that class of readers, for whom it was more especially designed; without any cause assigned but the want of a mere formality, which is no where observed, which was never observed, save in those places where an inquisition of some sort or other had been established. You say not, that you have examined it—You say not, that it is an unfaithful version—You point not out a single sentence, which you find contrary to faith or morality—And yet you take upon you to proscribe it *in toto!* and all this, "because it wants," you say, "the requisites which the church requires" in publishing works on scripture. You should have said, my lord, "which the discipline of the council of Trent requires:" for the discipline of the council of Trent is not the church, any more than the church is the discipline of the council of Trent.—However, let us see what the council of Trent says on this point of discipline."

He then proceeds to examine the conduct of this famous synod, so far as it relates to the point in

question—its mode of constitution—the validity of its authority, and how frequently it has been resisted by Bellarmine, Gretzer, Suarez, and others of the most celebrated and reputedly orthodox divines of the Roman church. Then adverting to himself; “at any rate,” says he, “I am not conscious of having transgressed it in any sense, for I recollect not a single text of scripture which I have wrested to a meaning contrary to the sense of the catholic church, or to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.”” He next proceeds to discuss that part of the same decree which more immediately concerns himself, in which the synod forbids the scriptures, or any expositions of them, to be published without the names of the printer and author; as also without a previous examination and approbation by the *ordinary*; which approbation shall be given in writing, and appear authenticated in the front of the book*.

“The first part of this injunction,” says he, “I have not violated: my own name, and my printer’s

* “Nullique liceat imprimere, vel imprimi facere, quosvis libros de rebus sacris sine nomine auctoris, neque illos in futurum vendere, aut etiam apud se retinere, nisi primum examinati probatique fuerunt ab *ordinario*, sub pœna anathematis et pecuniæ in canone concilii novissimi Lateranensis appositâ.—Ipsa vero hujusmodi approbatio in scriptis detur; atque ideo in fronte libri, vel scripti vel impressi, authentice appareat. Conc. Trid. ubi supra.”

name, are conspicuous in the title-page. It must, therefore, be on the latter part that you ground your *prohibition*, or your *warning* equivalent to a prohibition; namely, because my work has not been ‘examined and approved of by the *ordinary*.’ This is a *requisite* which it surely has not; which it could not readily have, and which I never meant it should have.

“The front of my book exhibits not the approbation of any *ordinary*; nor has the book, as far as I know, been ever examined by any *ordinary*. But if I had wished to have my work examined and approved of by an *ordinary*, where was he to be found? You, my lord, are no *ordinary*, in any sense of the word. You are neither an ordinary judge, nor an ordinary bishop, nor an ordinary inquisitor, nor an ordinary licenser of books; nor, in short, any thing to which the term can be lawfully and canonically applied. You are a mere vicar apostolic, without any *ordinary* jurisdiction whatsoever: and even in your extraordinary vicarial capacity, my lord, I question whether you are empowered by your limited and revocable faculties either to approve or to censure books of any sort; at least such vicarial faculties as I have seen give no such power. I am not ignorant that you may claim some such privilege, in consequence of your bull of consecration: and

there is also a printed breve of Benedict XIV. which seems to grant some such privilege. But, I repeat it, papal breves and bulls have no coercive authority in this country, and with me have no authority at all, when they run counter to the tenor of ancient canons, and infringe on the ordinary powers, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

“ I say, then, you are not, strictly and truly speaking, a canonical ordinary : but if you were a canonical ordinary, or even the *ordinary of ordinaries* himself; I should not have asked your approbation of my work, as a necessary requisite for its publication. If I had thought you capable of revising it, I might have submitted it to your revision, and, in that case, would have listened to your observations: but your approbation as an ordinary I would not have requested; much less printed it in the front of my work. No, my lord, no *imprimatur* shall ever appear in the front, or in the rear, of any work of mine. If, in my days, it happen that such a restraint be laid on the press, I shall cease to write, and weep over the expiring liberty of my enslaved country.

“ The discipline of the council of Trent I will never deem obligatory, but in as far as it shall have been publicly received and promulgated in the country where I reside ; and as it has never been so received in this country (whatever Dod

or Milner may say to the contrary), I think myself sufficiently authorized to object to it wherever I find it objectionable.—But what do I say? Do you, my lord, admit and follow the discipline of the council in all its parts? Have you always observed and enforced its discipline, even with respect to that injunction in consequence of which you have been pleased to proscribe my version of the Bible? The injunction includes not only scripture, and expositions of scripture; but every book that treats on *sacred things*. Now tell me how many books, written by English catholics, since the council of Trent, carry on their front an authenticated approbation of any ordinary, or of any vicar apostolic?"

He might have added, that so far as he had been able to comply with this requisition he had in reality endeavored to act up to its spirit: for, as I have already observed, he had, from the commencement of his undertaking, communed with bishop James Talbot, his vicarial superior at that time, if not his ordinary, upon the subject, and had received repeated assurances from him that he would not interfere to oppose his intentions.

It is sufficiently clear therefore, from the scope and history of this debate, that although our author's version was proscribed, it was proscribed not on account of any peculiar system of opinions introduced into its Critical Remarks; but merely

from the motive of his not having complied with what were said to be certain requisitions of the church, long since obsolete, and devoid of force from non-usage, and now revived for the first time, for the purpose of being played off against himself and several other enlightened and liberal scholars of the catholic church, who had, much to their credit, labored assiduously to obtain for themselves and their fellow catholics a more equal rank in the political society of which they were members.

As to his own religious principles and even opinions, they were well known to his fellow catholics at large, although his volume of Critical Remarks was not at this time published; and I cannot do better than terminate the present chapter with a recapitulation of them as contained in the close of his Address to the Public, which he himself regarded as only a prelude to the letter addressed to Mr. Douglas. "*I am,*" says he, "*a Catholic Christian, who believe all that the catholic christian church has at all times believed and taught. Quod semper, quod ab omnibus, quod ubique creditum, id ego credo.*" I do not say that I believe nothing else: but nothing else I hold to be an essential article of belief. What I find to have been taught by Christ and his apostles, and by their successors, in every age and place, that I deem a point of genuine

primitive catholicity : but whatever bears not this character, is, with me, no catholic principle. Christianity was originally a very simple yet accomplished beauty ; as a pagan writer confesses *. But, under the paint and patches of posterior times, her lineaments are barely discernible ; and such a load of useless ornaments has been added to her vesture, that little appears of its pristine simplicity. O prelates ! O pontiffs ! what have ye not to account for ?

“ Honest, open-eyed catholic reader ! I trust I have convinced thee, that I am an orthodox catholic christian. But if I were not an orthodox catholic christian ; if I were as arch an heretic as ever dogmatized ; might I not, for all that, be capable of giving a good translation of the Bible ? Did the pretended, or real, heresy of Origen make his biblical researches less valuable ? Aquila and Theodotion were obdurate Jews ; Symmachus was an Ebionite : yet their versions of the Old Testament were sought, read, and praised by the christian Fathers ; nay partly received into the Greek exemplars of the scripture. The great Erasmus was greatly suspected of heresy : yet his labours on the New Testament were approved of by a knowing pope, and applauded by the learned world ; a few bigots excepted. Sacy was reputed a rank

* “ *Res simplex et absoluta.* Am. Marcel.”

Janfenist, and for his janfenism was immured in the Bastile: yet his French version of the Bible, partly made in that dungeon, has been long in high estimation in the Gallican church.—Now, without presuming to compare myself with any of those celebrated men; I surely may be allowed to say, that I *may* make a good translation: and that if I *do* make a *good* translation; the imputation of heterodoxy cannot render it a bad one. In short, it must stand on its own intrinsic merit; and if it have none, it will soon fall, without the need of episcopal or papal fulminations.”

CHAPTER XII.

Dr. Geddes's mind much affected by the contumelies he received—consoled by his friends, especially the titular bishop of Dunkeld, and his patron lord Petre—sinks into a low and irritable fever, which incapacitates him from all exertion for many months—progressively recovers—Makes a tour into Norfolk—composes his Norfolk Tale—selection of an anecdote from this poem highly creditable to his general benevolence—Character of his poetry—Ode to the Hon. Thomas Pelham, occasioned by his speech in the Irish House of Commons on the catholic bill—Humorous metrical translation of Dr. Coultburst's Sermon, preached before the university of Cambridge, Oct. 25, 1796—Dispute between the bishop of Bangor and Mr. Grindley—Dr. Geddes's Comic-Heroic Poem, entitled The Battle of Bangor—his anonymous Fast-Day Sermon and New-Year's Gift. A. D. 1794—1799.

IT was during our author's recovery from the long and lingering illness which I have already stated he sustained from the anxiety of his mind, exacerbated by the backbitings of bigotry and the malevolence of sacerdotal pride, that he wrote the various letters and addresses enumerated in the

preceding chapter. So deeply was he affected by the undeserved severity of his lot, that at one period his spirits became almost despondent; and nothing but the assiduous attention and animating efforts of his dearest and most valued friends succeeded, even at last, in arousing him from the melancholy into which he had gradually sunk. To enumerate the names of those, whether catholics or protestants, who, at this critical period chiefly evinced their attachment to him, and principally succeeded in dispelling the morbid gloom by which he was oppressed, would be a useless, and in some degree an invidious task; but the names of two distinguished characters of the former persuasion I ought not to suppress, because he himself has particularized them in his writings, and did not forget their prominent proofs of kindness to the last moment of his life. Of these, the one was his old schoolfellow and much esteemed cousin, the titular bishop of Dunkeld, whose cordial participation in his injuries, and animating exhortations to perseverance, tended in a very considerable degree to recall him to a sense of his duty, and to a contempt of the calumnies with which he was aspersed. The other was his noble and incomparable patron the late lord Petre, whose consoling sympathies and generous expostulations formed at all times a source of his proudest

and most pleasing recollections, and are thus affectionately adverted to in strains of tender melancholy, while apostrophizing the muse of Zion, in the Elegy he composed on his lordship's decease:

Quis tua, nunc, memet vestigia, Diva, legentem

Per vepres, fessum quis relevare velit ?

Me prope cum piguit tantos tolerare labores,

Dejectos animos sustulit ille meos.

Me cum mordaci lacerarent dente maligni,

Et contra fremeret cæca superstitio ;

“ Putida tu sperne illorum convicia (dixit)

“ Cura tibi tantum—perficiatur opus.”

Who now shall soothe me as my path I wind,

Thy footsteps following, through entangling briars ?

When faint, the task, at times, I half resigned,

He cheered my soul, and roused its latent fires.

When malice grinned with fang so oft that daunts,

When bigots blind o'erflowed with frantic foam,

“ Spurn, spurn,” said he, “ these vile opprobrious taunts,

“ Care but for this—to close th' important tome*.”

The attentions of his benevolent patron did not terminate with personal condolences and advice. As soon as the doctor was sufficiently recovered to derive benefit from the air and exercises of the country, he earnestly pressed him to a visit at his seat in Norfolk, and advised him to recruit himself as he proceeded, at Thorndon in Essex, another country mansion of the illustrious peer's, in the

* See the entire Elegy, in chap. xiv. of the present work.

course of his excursion. Dr. Geddes acceded to the friendly recommendation, and as soon as he was able to commence his tour in his own way, prepared himself for the journey. The doctor was a pedestrian as well from choice as principle. In the earlier part of his life, the slenderness of his income rendered this a matter of absolute necessity, and a habit was hence introduced which terminated in a preference to this mode of travelling, and accompanied him through life. His means, however, at the present period, though amply adequate to the common routine of his wants, did not admit of any large surplus for even personal luxuries, and what little he could spare he always thought rather due to the necessities of others than to the gratification of himself. "Freely," said he, "have I received, freely ought I to give."

Towards the end of August 1783, therefore, after he had broken all connexion with his vicarial superior, he began his walk through Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. The increasing purity of the atmosphere as he quitted the metropolis, and the inartificial beauties of the country, which now poured before him in a wide and wider theatre, recreated his spirits, and banished, for a short time, from his memory both bishop Douglas and his own translation. He wooed the rustic muse; he found her at hand, *simplex munditiis*, "in all her

artlessness of neat attire ;” she became compliant with his wishes, and by her assistance he worked up the few incidents that occurred into a poem, which he shortly afterwards printed and entitled “ A Norfolk Tale, or a Journal from London to Norwich.”

This poem is introduced into the world under the formidable arrangement of a prologue and epilogue, and of a division of the work itself into three distinct parts. It is composed with much good humor and amenity of heart, and in its versification is easy even to occasional negligence. It is literally indeed a *sermo pedestris*, and aims not at the loftier flights and more daring imagination of the muse when mounted on Pegasus. Mr. Johnson, our author’s bookseller, has told me, that when he brought it to him, he advised him not to publish it, as conceiving that it would by no means sufficiently interest the world to ensure the sale of an adequate impression. This, however, was not Dr. Geddes’s mode of reasoning ; he had written it, and the press must follow as a matter of course. And in this instance he seems not to have reasoned amiss ; for if it did not interest the world, it at least interested the circle of his own friends ; and either through their repeated demands for it, or his own liberal circulation, he not only disposed of the first,

but actually printed a second edition of it within a few months of its composition.

Nothing is more demonstrative of the fountain whence a writer has imbibed his ideas, the soil in which he has been accustomed to labor, than the peculiar train of images and allusions to which he has recourse. They are not only indeed characteristic of the bent of his mind, but measure the degree of his application and research. With Dr. Geddes, the sacred pages, both with respect to their doctrines and figurative language, were all in all. He had *studied* them almost from his infancy with the zeal of a christian and the accuracy of a critic, and I have already had occasion to state that his metaphors and ornamental elucidations, instead of being drawn from the more polluted streams of Homer and Horace, are almost uniformly deduced from this overflowing fountain of purity and sublimity. In the poem before us the character of the man is equally conspicuous. I will adduce but two instances in confirmation of this remark. Fatigued with his expedition by the time he had reached Bury St. Edmonds in Suffolk, he retired at an early period to rest, and the goddess FAME, more favorable to him in his sleeping than in his waking hours, appeared in a pleasant dream, and in reward of all his troubles and

persecutions presented to him a golden trumpet
with her left hand, while with her right she sur-
rounded his temples with a gay and verdant gar-
land,

Compos'd of all the flowers that grow
By *Jebus* or by *Jericbo*!

With gracious look, she said: "My child,
For twenty twelvemonths thou hast toil'd
To earn a little honest fame:

I come at length to grant thy claim.

Long as the ancient Hebrew page
Mankind's attention shall engage—

Long as the son of Amram's laws
Shall meet with merited applause—

Long as the tones of David's lyre

All future minstrels shall admire—

Long as the Song of Songs shall prove

That *death is not more strong than love*—

Long as Isaiah's style shall be

The test of true sublimity—

And Jeremiah's plaint remains

The first of elegiac strains—

Long as the Bible shall be read—

This garland shall adorn thy head!

And this loud trump's immortal sound

O'er all the island shall rebound!"

The next example needs no introduction. He
is still pursuing his journey:

Eight score of furlongs yet I had
To traverse—and the ways were bad.

Not *Israel's* discontented host
 Such deserts met, on Edom's coast !
 Nor was there on the dreary ground
 A drop of *Manna* to be found.

Two hours I thus my course pursue,
 When, unexpected, to my view
 Appears a town of ancient fame :
 But *Tbetford* is its modern name.

Here, I opin'd, poor cred'lous man,
 I was not far from my *Chanāān* :
 And that the river *Tbet* might be
 A *Jordan*, possibly to me !
 Judge, then, what was my great surprise,
 When passing on, I rais'd mine eyes,
 And saw I had to travel o'er
 A greater desert than before.

In Part II. we meet with an anecdote which ought not to be neglected, since it is literally true, and strongly illustrative of our author's habitual benevolence :

'Twas in the middle of a down,
 Remote from village or from town,
 Where a black-bellied cloud outshed
 Its dire contents upon my head :
 And I, alas ! poor luckless fellow,
 Had neither great-coat nor umbrella.

In this distress, on my left hand,
 I see a little cottage stand :
 With joy I see ; and, helter-skelter,
 I to the cottage run for shelter.
 The door was open—In I go :
 But ah ! my Kit ! what scenes of woe

Present themselves?—First on a bed
 A husband, in his prime, lies dead :
 Lies dead, with scarce a rag to hide
 His lifeless limbs:—At the bed-side
 A weeping widow sits and sighs,
 And lifts to heaven her piteous eyes :
 While three sweet orphans, round her, cry
 For bread, which she cannot supply.
 “ O God! (said I, and rubb’d my brow)
 Why have I not a fortune now ?
 But can I nothing—nothing give,
 These fellow creatures to relieve !
 Yes!—I can give a shroud to lay
 That naked corse in kindred clay.
 Yes!—I can give, wherewith to save
 His wife and children from the grave,
 This week—The next, kind Heav’n may send
 A richer, not more feeling friend :”

So saying, from my purse I drew,
 And on the lap of sorrow threw
 Three silver crowns—’twas all, I swear,
 My little scanty fob could spare !

Eager she seized my hand and prest
 It closely to her throbbing breast :
 And while it on her bosom lies,
 A pair of pearls drop from her eyes,
 Warm as the weeper’s grateful heart,
 And fall on the uncover’d part.
 Dear drops ! ah ! could your briny stain
 A lasting mark on me remain;
 Not *Francis’ Stigmata** would be
 A cause of jealousy to me !

* See the *Légend* in *Bonaventure*, or the *Roman Breviary*.

Two other drops, before they fell,
 (Yes, Kit ! I'm not ashamed to tell)
 I intercept, as down they flow
 Her cheeks, that now begin to glow :
 My face upon her face I fix ;
 And with her tears my tears I mix.

And now the heav'ns appear'd serene,
 As if to witness this last scene :
 And Sol seemed willing to repay
 His absence with a brighter ray
 Than usual at the close of day.

Three miles, I ween, or nearly so,
 To *Hingham*, yet I had to go :
 But ne'er was such a space of ground
 Less tiresome to a trav'ler found.
 Tho' cold, and wetted to the skin,
 I felt a fostering flame within,
 Which made me totally forget
 That I was cold ! that I was wet !

JESUS of *Nazareth* ! how true
 The doctrine first announced by you !
 Whether in a disciple's name,
 We, for a cup of water claim
 A recompense ; or for a store
 Bestow'd of the most precious ore ;
 This ore, that cup, ev'n here on earth,
 Are recompens'd beyond their worth.
 Can there a greater boon be giv'n
 To mortal man by bounteous heav'n,
 Than the delight supreme that flows
 From mitigating human woes ?

Here, for a moment, let me pause ;
 And think on the mysterious laws

Of Providence, whose wondrous chain
No human wisdom can explain.

Had I, that morn, refus'd to hear
The spirit whisp'ring in mine ear
"Proceed to Norwich." — Had I gone
At any other hour but *One*. —
Had not keen hunger made me stay
An hour at *Wotton*, on my way —
I should have passed the dismal down,
Before the skies began to frown. —
Or, had that providential show'r
Fallen at any other hour,
I to the cottage had not run
That providential show'r to shun!
Or had I been a man of gold,
And in a gilded chariot loll'd;
I should have pass'd the lonesome plain,
Regardless of the falling rain;
And consequently ne'er had been
A witness of the 'foresaid scene:
Nor had the happiness to say:
"My friends! I have not lost a day."

Such were the recreations of body and mind
by which this indefatigable scholar endeavored
to reacquire his accustomed health and vigor. It
was long, however, before he could so far forget
the contumelious treatment he had received as to
be able to resume his biblical pursuits, and prepare
for a second volume of his translation. He was
still goaded by a variety of anonymous letters,
which in spite of all his philosophy, and the ani-

mating efforts of his friends, damped his courage, and pressed heavily upon his heart. He, nevertheless, at no period suffered himself to be absolutely indolent; and when incapable of severer studies, amused himself by an indulgence of his poetic talents. The pieces he at this time produced were for the most part therefore ephemeral: they generally consisted of addresses to his more intimate friends or favorites upon trifling occurrences, and neither merit nor were meant to be perpetuated. They nevertheless fully accomplished the purpose for which they were intended, and contributed more than any thing else to allay the irritation of his mind. To adopt his own language on another occurrence,

Me nam delectant dulces ante omnia musæ,
Musa mihi cunctis est medicina malis*.

On one or two occasions however he endeavored to enlist the tuneful sisterhood into his service, and to employ them upon subjects of more public concern; and particularly in the affair of the catholic bill which was introduced into the Irish parlia-

* The muses—every grief that best beguile;
To me an antidote for every ill.

Elegy addressed to the Shade of Gilbert Wakefield:
see the Elegy at large in chap. xiv.

ment in the year 1795, by the great body of the catholics themselves, through a hope of being admitted to participate with their protestant brethren in the offices, emoluments, and honors connected with the government of the country, from the whole of which they were excluded by their religion. The bill, however, failed of success; and as Mr. Pelham was one of the most active instruments in opposing it, our indefatigable polemic, on this transaction, composed and published an "Ode to the Honourable Thomas Pelham, occasioned by his Speech in the Irish House of Commons on the Catholic Bill." The muses, however, though duly wooed, were not very propitious to the poet's suit in the present instance, and granted him a reluctant and parsimonious succour. His prime object is to answer in verse the chief arguments which Mr. Pelham had advanced in prose; and he seems, from the conclusion of his Ode, to have persuaded himself that this poetic reply could not be read with indifference even by the politician to whom he addresses it; for the following are its final stanzas:

Pelham! I now return to you,

And bid you friendly adieu;

With this advice sincere:

Be it your study, night and day,

To drive black prejudice away,

And keep your conscience clear.

So shall you, when you speak again,
 Be more consistent, pure, and plain;
 And reason not so badly.

Pelham! perhaps, you'll yet embrace
 The doctrines which, to your disgrace,
 You now oppugn so madly.

On a transaction which occurred shortly afterwards he was more successful in his application to the maids of verse. Dr. Coulthurst had preached a sermon before the university of Cambridge, October 25, 1796, on the anniversary of his majesty's accession, which excited much conversation on its delivery, but still more on its publication. Every body knows that discourses of this kind tend naturally to the politics of the period in which they are composed; and every body knows also (or at least every preacher), that from their innumerable repetitions all over the kingdom, it is extremely difficult to drag forth ideas upon the same standing subject which have not been anticipated by preceding orators. The doctor, it must be confessed, made a daring effort; and his courage was crowned with all the success it deserved. The politics of the day constitute his subject, and in common with his brethren in holy orders, he laments the origin of jacobinism, its rapid strides and pernicious influence among the intoxicated multitude: but while, in common also with his cle-

rical colleagues, he deploras the mischiefs which have in this respect been produced by that "modern high-priest of infidelity*," Tom Paine, in conjunction with the French revolution, he deviates from prior preachers, who have ascribed to these causes the prime origin of our evils, and with a deeper dip into the heraldry of political events traces a genealogy which had hitherto been concealed from the eyes of our Porneys, our Heards, and our Dallaways. Jacobinism, it seems, from certain archives discovered by Dr. Coulthurst, is of much earlier date than has yet been conjectured by any man: the monster was born in paradise—he was the fruit of the criminal conversation of the "first teacher of treason†" with the common mother of mankind, and after having lain dormant for many thousands of years, was at length nurtured into a state of *active citizenship* by the *Letters of Junius* ‡.

I select these ideas as containing a mere sample

* I quote from the doctor's Sermon, p. 7.

† Ibidem.

‡ "One grand epoch of disloyalty may fairly be dated from the political existence of a certain *celebrated anonymous writer* in the earlier part of the present reign, whose profligacy and pertness bear no small proportion to the purity and elegance of his diction." Id. p. 9.

of the novelties which the doctor had been successful enough to cull from the flowery field of imagination after all the herborizing attempts of his predecessors. When the sermon was first published a copy of it was hurried by some wicked wag of the university to an old college associate who resided in London, with a request that he would notice it in any way he chose, so as to increase its merited reputation. Scarcely had the post delivered the parcel, when some playful spirit led Dr. Geddes to the door of the person to whom it was addressed. A council was held upon the occasion, and it was instantly agreed to turn the whole sermon into verse. Our poet undertook the task; he put the pamphlet into his pocket, and translated and returned a correct copy of his version in about three days. In about three days more it was printed; and in the course of a single week reached Cambridge, in due time to contest the palm with its antagonist edition in prose. I have been informed, indeed, of a ludicrous circumstance respecting it, with the truth of which the doctor is best acquainted. It is said that the person to whom the sermon in metre was addressed, or a friend of his, waited upon Dr. Coulthurst the moment the packet arrived, meaning to present him with a copy in person. The doctor was absent, and on his vi-

sitor's requesting pen, ink, and paper, to leave a note, he was shewn into a room, where he found a variety of prose copies parcelled out and addressed to many of the doctor's friends who had not yet been favored with this valuable present. "Exchange," said the arch intruder, "is no robbery:" and thus saying, he pocketed the prose sermons, and placed an equal number of his poetic versions, with suitable addresses, in their stead; which, according to the doctor's orders, who did not return till the ensuing day, were conveyed by his servant the same evening agreeably to their respective superscriptions. Many of these were sent by the post to a considerable distance: his friends, to whom they were addressed, were astonished to find that the muses had quitted Parnassus for the pulpit, while they equally admired the doctor's new and original method of *harmonizing* holy writ, and of captivating all the heads, and, I may add, all the ears of the university.

As a specimen of our author's merit in the present sportive undertaking, I shall exhibit his commencement and conclusion of this two-fold discourse—*idem et alter*—and, for a comparison, shall insert the same portion of his exemplar at the foot of the page.

*Curse not the king, no not in thought—nor curse
The man, who hath a long and weighty purse :
For courtly parrots will the secret chatter ;
And things with wings will hear, and tell the matter.*

Although the book *Ecclesiastes*
Of a peculiar typic cast is ;
Or may, like other scripture-stories,
Admit of types and allegories ;
Yet I, at present, think it better
To be contented with the letter :
And from its primary construction
I mean to draw my whole induction.

The exhortation of the text,
Tho' somewhat, seemingly, perplext,
Is necessary in this day
Of stir, confusion, and affray !

When villains wantonly curse kings,
(Those singularly sacred things)

* " ECCLESIASTES, X. 20.

*" Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought ; and curse not the rich
in thy bedchamber : for a bird of the air shall carry the voice,
and that which hath wings shall tell the matter.*

" The Book of Ecclesiastes, as well as every other portion of scripture, has been interpreted typically and figuratively. It is my present purpose to content myself with the primary and literal construction ; and the exhortation in the text is peculiarly necessary in this day of tumult and confusion—when ' kings are wantonly cursed,' and insulted ; and the rich and

And rogues, without or shoes or breeches,
 Presume t'upbraid the man of riches,
 Call him usurper, pirate, thief!
 Can it be ever the belief
 Of any well-taught godly wight,
 That such a system can be right?
 No, certainly—but let us coolly
 The thing consider—for though, truly,
 'Tis not the province of the preacher
 To be of politics a teacher:
 Yet, if a metaphysic pen
 Have meddled with the *rights of men*;
 And if, in HUME, it were no fault,
 As none it could be, to exalt
Statistics to the rank of *science*;
 Why may not we, in Paine's defiance,
 Deem it permitted us to mix
Theology with *politics*?

Indeed, of all politic æras,
 (As far as hist'ry back will bear us)

opulent are upbraided as the usurpers and piratical invaders of the common property of mankind.—Can this system of policy be deemed right?—Certainly not.—Let us, however, calmly consider this matter. It is by no means the duty of the clergy to disquiet themselves too much with secular inquiries: yet if some metaphysicians * have been pleased to exalt politics to the dignity of science, why may not we, at certain times and seasons, justly deem them to be a portion of sacred science, and the subject of sacred deliberation?—And of all the political periods in profane history, none seems so loudly

* Hume.

None seems so loudly to demand
 The exertion of the *cleric* band
 As this.—For, sure, the celebration
 And annual commemoration
 Of this blest day * we cannot deem
 An idle rite of none esteem;
 Tho' restless spirits, time ago,
 May probably have thought it so.

No, no;—if to investigate
 The theory of civil state,
 And logically to explain
 Th' analysis of man's domain—
 If to call into animation
 The public spirit of the nation
 Was ever needful—then, allow
 'Tis doubly necessary now,
 When we, not for distinctions small,
 Which *capillary* one may call;
 Nor for those *atoms evanescent*,
 That are, beyond all sense, decreescent,
 Contend—But when the very life
 Of government's the cause of strife;

to demand the attention and exertions of the clergy as the present; for certainly the celebration of this day's festival cannot now be deemed useless or problematical, though some superficial and unquiet spirits may have formerly thought it so. No—If it was ever necessary to investigate the theory of civil subordination, and logically to explain the analysis of property; if it was ever necessary to call forth the public virtue and public spirit of the kingdom, this necessity is laid upon us now—when we contend, not for little capillary distinctions, or evanescent atoms of the grand system—when we

* October 25th.

Or, still more strongly to express
 Th' idea in the nobler dress—
 Of TULLY: *Non de terminis,*
Sed de possessione, Lis!

I speak not of those monsters fell,
 The last abortive spawn of hell,
 Whose execrable usurpation
 Over a *free* and *happy* nation,
 Has deluged Gallia with a flood
 Of *royal* and of *noble* blood:
 And who with glowing ardor pant
 The *tree* of *liberty* to plant
 In soils where, yet, it cannot grow,
 Or on the Rhine, or on the Po;
 Yea, harrow antichristian Rome;
 I speak of enemies at home,
 Who their envenom'd shafts direct
 'Gainst us, 'gainst us—the Lord's elect.

"Delenda est," they proudly say,

"Delenda est Ecclesia*!"

contend for the very existence of the government itself, or in the language of Cicero—"Non de terminis, sed de possessione totâ contentio."

I speak not of those inhuman monsters, who by their abominable usurpations have deluged the wide-extended plains of France with blood, and have been panting with insatiable indignation to plow Rome and harrow up Italy. I speak of our enemies at home. Their outcry is most vehemently directed against us. "Delenda est Ecclesia!" We are destined

* "The church must be destroyed." God defend us!

WE are the victims first design'd
 To glut their sanguinary mind :
 Yes, brethren ! yes—with frown indignant
 NOTANT, ET OCULIS DESIGNANT
 AD CÆDEM UNUMQUEQUE NOSTRUM !
 Whoe'er we be, who mount the rostrum
 And preach up loyalty to kings,
 Are truly death-devoted things !
 If it be so—the will of God
 Be done !—we to his awful rod
 Submit our backs.—And when the day
 And hour shall come—God grant we may
 Be strong in him, and in his might :
 And now, while day precedes the night,
 Let us do our endeavour to
 The work of ministers to do ;
 And teach the people what they owe
 To GOD above, and KINGS below :

to be the first victims. “* Notant et designant oculis ad
 cædem unumquemque nostrum.” If it be so, the will of God
 be done ! Let us commit ourselves to him that judgeth right-
 eously—and when that day and that hour shall come, “God
 grant that we may be strong in the Lord, and in the power of
 his might !”—and whilst we are yet spared—“whilst it is yet
 called to-day,” let us humbly endeavour to do our duty as the
 ministers of God, and to teach the people their's—let us teach
 them (what, greatly to their misery and disgrace, they
 seem now to have forgotten) “to render unto Cæsar the
 things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are
 God's ;” and “knowing that ye all,” among whom I have

* Cicero contra Catilinam.

Teach them to give to God, their *heart* ;
And to the king, their *cash* impart.

And knowing that ye all (among)
Whom my sojournment has been (long)
Will, peradventure, in this place
Never again behold my face :
Pray give me leave, with deference due,
And merited respect for you,
To finish this my peroration
With this pathetic exhortation :
An exhortation, which, indeed,
Our rev'rend successors may need :
Nay which—*horresco referens* * ;
Ourselves may need—some few days hence.

This exhortation my readers will find in the sacred text below, with which the prose extract concludes. “ I have not translated,” says Dr. Geddes, “ this scripture passage for two reasons : first, it is already as clear as it can be made ; and, secondly, it is too solemn and serious to be turned into rhyme.”

long sojourned, will peradventure “ see my face no more,” may I be permitted, with all deference and with all respect, to conclude with that glorious declaration of our Lord—a declaration which some of our reverend successors, or, to speak more to the purpose, which we ourselves (*horresco referens*) may one day most assuredly need—“ Fear not them which kill the body, and afterwards have no more that they can do : but I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear ; fear him, who after he hath destroyed, hath power to call both body and soul into hell ; yea, I say unto you, fear him.”

* I tremble to tell the tale.

About the same time an incident occurred of still more notoriety ; and which, as it attracted much of the public attention, could not possibly escape the vision of our polemic Argus. I allude to the memorable electioneering affray at Bangor, in which Dr. Warren, bishop of the diocese, made so conspicuous a figure, and which afterwards became the subject of an indictment against himself and several of his clerical friends, at the suit of Mr. Grindley, the deputy-registrar. Grindley, although appointed to the office he enjoyed through the interest of the prelate himself, had for some time manifested symptoms of a refractory spirit, and had deserted the church and state party for that of the *profanum vulgus*, or swinish multitude. The bishop was determined to take vengeance on the apostate, and sallied forth, accompanied by a blacksmith, at the head of several clerical satellites, to turn him out from his office by main force, since he had refused to relinquish it quietly : a succession of skirmishes ensued, in the course of which fortune seems to have held the balance with an even hand, sometimes inclining to the prelate and sometimes to the registrar. The latter, however, if I recollect aright, eventually prevailed in retaining possession of his castle, but he was frustrated in his suit at the Shrewsbury assizes. The subject was certainly well calculated for the display of poetic

wit and humour: and it was greedily seized by Dr. Geddes, who in a comic-heroic poem of nine cantos, entitled “The Battle of Bangor, or the Church’s Triumph,” labored with all his might to eternize the transaction.

The Battle of Bangor is unquestionably the best production of our author’s metrical pen. It exhibits more taste and fancy in its imagery, and more correctness in its versification, than any poem he ever wrote; and, what is no small addition to its merit, it abounds with good humour, and a playful amenity of heart. To analyze it would be altogether a work of supererogation. It is modelled on Pope’s Rape of the Lock, or rather the Lutrin of Despreaux. I shall confine myself to the selection of a specimen or two of its general merit. It opens as follows;

The peerless PRELATE, who, with well-aim’d thrust,
Laid a presumptuous layman in the dust,
Chased from the precincts of the sacred fane
A REGISTRAR rebellious, rash, and vain,
Who dar’d ’gainst Heav’n uplift his lawless rod,
And bid defiance to the sons of God,
I sing.—Be present, muse of Despreaux!
And make my numbers like his numbers flow:
Or, rather, still more pow’rful succours bring;
A greater hero, mightier deeds I sing.
And thou, sweet nymph of a more noble stock,
Who taught our bard to sing Belinda’s lock,

Vouchsafe on these more humble strains to smile,
And let them live—at least a little while.

The palace of *Zealotism*, or *Bigotry*, and his origin from the lovely and amiable nymph Zeala, in consequence of a rape committed upon her by a lascivious monk of Thoulouse, are thus classically conceived and expressed. It is with this passage that Canto III. opens.

'Mong the celestial goddesses above,
That grace the mansion of almighty Jove,
A nymph there is, whose province is to raise
In man's cold heart devotion's melting blaze:
For oft, too oft, forgetful of his God,
Poor earthly man betrays his native clod.
Her name is ZEALA—through the world she flies,
Love in her looks, and ardor in her eyes:
Nor can the iciest mortal well withstand
The glowing touch of her enchanting hand.
Yet, neither stiff, nor stern, she gently bends
Her willing vot'ries to her purpos'd ends.
Martyrs she makes, but martyrs meek and mild;
Who ne'er revile, although they be reviled:
In Virtue's cause, a vigor she inspires;
But never kindles Persecution's fires.

Once on a time, as this celestial maid,
In quest of converts, through Tholosa stray'd;
There in a convent (horrible to tell!)
A lecherous friar compress'd her in his cell.
From this commixtion a dire dæmon came;
And ZELOTISMUS is that dæmon's name—

Rapid his growth ; for his half-heav'nly birth
 Gave him advantage o'er the sons of earth.
 Foster'd by popes and kings, behold him rise,
 In a short space, to an enormous size !
 His fame by strolling priests is blazed abroad ;
 And men mistake him for a demi-god.
 Whole nations eagerly embrace his laws ;
 But, chief, Iberia's sons support his cause.
 There temples, there to him were altars rear'd ;
 With human blood those altars were besmear'd :
 Religion sanction'd the devouring flame,
 And infants trembled at this Moloch's name.

Thus erst ; but now he sees his pow'r decline :
 No bloody trophies more bedeck his shrine :
 No fiery *san-benitos* more adorn
 The Moor or Jew, condemn'd to public scorn.
 Yet, yet a week of years ; the world shall see
 His throne o'erturn'd ; and fair Iberia free !

Yet still on Tajo's banks he holds his court :
 Thither the zealots of the west resort—
 A hooded band, th' emissaries of Rome,
 Support his empire, and surround his dome.

In the first porch of this stupendous place
 Stands PERSECUTION, with an iron face.
 In his right hand a scorpion scourge he bears,
 Beting'd with human blood and human tears ;
 And in his left he grasps a brand of fire
 Ready to light the dread funereal pyre.
 Cut deep in stone, above the monster's head,
 ΕΙΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΦΟΒΟΥ clearly may be read.

In the remotest part of this abode
 Is the apartment of the grisly god.
 There Phœbus never shews his cheerful face;
 Tapers of yellow wax supply his place;
 Such as at dismal dirges are display'd
 To half-illuminate the half-damn'd dead.
 High, on a throne of rough and rusty steel,
 Sedately sits the spurious son of Zeal.

Dame SUPERSTITION, his beloved bride,
 Sits, like another Thaïs, by his side.
 Pale is her visage, peevish is her mien:
 For she is often troubled with the spleen.
 Her weeds are black; but with a copious store
 Of gaudy trinkets they are tinsell'd o'er—
 Beads from Loretto, Agnus-Dei's from Rome,
 And christen'd relics from a catacomb:
 Crosses and medals with indulgence fraught;
 And images, that miracles have wrought:
 Like that which lately, at Ancona, drew
 Just adoration from the Turk and Jew!
 Behind his throne, to catch his dire commands,
 His armour-bearer, FANATISMUS, stands.
 Screws, racks and pulleys; sulphur, pitch and tar;
 With other implements of holy war;
 Lie piled around him: all in order fair,
 As, in the Tow'r our guns and pistols are.

I shall close the poem with the following extract. The redoubtable prelate summoned and arranged his clerical army, and like another Rolla endeavors, though not altogether with equal suc-

cess, to inspire them with courage, by appealing to the sacred cause in which they are engaged, the obstinacy of the foe, and the absolute necessity of storming his castle by a coup de main.

“ Servants of the Lord,
 “ Deans, doctors, priests, and levites, hear my word—
 “ His castle must be stormed, himself extruded :
 “ Such is my will.”—He said, and so concluded !

Mute for a while his myrmidons remain :
 What priest in storming castles would be slain ?
 Besides, small hopes of sure success they saw ;
 They had no cannon, save the *canon-law* :
 Nor battering-engine, save the hand and head ;
 That was not iron, and this was not lead :
 And well they knew that gates of solid oak
 Are not by common engines to be broke,
 Perplex'd they stand : yet how refuse to fight,
 Under a bishop, for the church's right ?
 They bow assent—yet in their looks appear
 Some outward symptoms of an inward fear.

The Prelate saw the cause, and smiling said,
 “ Our plan of war at *dinner* shall be laid :
 “ An empty stomach lacks its usual pow'r :
 “ Retire, reflect, and come again at four.
 “ A turtle waits you ; and a haunch of doe—
 “ That comes from Liverpool, and this from S*we ;—
 “ With store of wine—I hope you will not spare it ;
 “ For I have just laid in a pipe of claret.”

As, when the sun with his impressive ray
 Dispels the fogs of a November day,

The sullen skies their wonted face assume,
 And seem but brighter from the previous gloom;
 So, now, the bishop's pow'rful words replace
 Joy in each heart, and blood in every face,
 They thank his Lordship with a joint accord,
 And pledge themselves to join the festal board.

Such were the lighter and recreative employments in which the doctor occupied the greater part of his leisure hours; yet he did not exclusively confine himself to metre. To expose the absurdity of what at this time overflowed the nation — war-sermons delivered in the pulpit of peace — he published, under the fictitious name of Polemophilus Brown, two distinct parodies upon several of the more violent discourses of this description, which had been printed by request. Of these the former is dated 1798, and entitled, “A New Year's Gift to the Good People of England; being a Sermon, or something like a Sermon, in Defence of the present War: preached on the Day of Public Thanksgiving.” The latter bears the date of 1799, and is more laconically denominated “A Sermon preached on the Day of General Fast, Feb. 27.”

The “New Year's Gift” is ushered into the world without either text or motto of any description. “I have placed,” says the author, “no

particular text at the head of mine oration, for the following reasons:—In the first place, I have long observed that preachers never *stick* to their texts; and, indeed, it appeareth hardly possible to make any single text the subject of a whole discourse. There is not a passage in the Bible, that may not be as well explained in one minute as in one hour. Having, then, never heard or read a sermon in which the text was strictly adhered to, I thought it would be presumption in me to attempt to achieve what had never before been achieved.

“Secondly, I have not been able to find, either in the Old or New Testament, any single *insulated* text perfectly suited to my subject; although I turned over every leaf in Cruden’s Concordance for that very purpose.”

The Fast-Day Sermon bears the device of “No bishop, no king; no king, no bishop.” Respecting which, he observes, “These words are not, I grant, to be found in any part of scripture, strictly canonical: but they are not, for that, the less deserving of attention. They were uttered by an author, whom our forefathers in God deemed to be, sometimes at least, inspired. They were uttered by a great monarch, the Solomon of his age, and the arbiter of religious controversies; who crushed both popery and presbytery with a rod of iron;

and shivered them in pieces, like a potter's vessel! Why, then, may not his words be, in some sort, considered as canonical; although they came too late to be inserted either in the Canon of Ezra, or the Canon of Chalcedon? At any rate, they have as good a title to be made a *text*, as any in the Book of Tobit, or other book apocryphal."

I refer to these writings of our author in the order in which they stand, without pledging myself by any means to support all the doctrines, or approve all the sentiments they inculcate. Much has been objected, and forcibly objected, too, against the introduction of politics into the pulpit; but I have never yet seen a line drawn which has had even a prospect of producing satisfaction to any party. No man who values the society in which he is placed, his family affinities, or even his own individual happiness, can abstract himself from the affairs of his country, or become totally indifferent to its interest. Were he never, therefore, to meet his fellow citizens in public with a view of joining in those penitential confessions, those supplications and thanksgivings at the throne of the Great Parent of mankind, which are common to the sect or nation of which he is a member, he could not totally exclude the beautiful climax of

relatives, friends, country, and mankind at large, from the private devotions of his closet. His own happiness is connected with the common weal of what surrounds him, and mediately or immediately he must refer to it. But if, both from the very constitution of nature and the express dictates of revealed religion, "*supplications* be" thus "to be made for all men," to Him by whom all men have been created, why should the discourse subsequent upon such supplications be debarred from partaking of the very essence of our prayers; and, instead of being rendered equally impressive and diversified by a guarded and respectful reference to the national facts or politics of the day, be rigidly limited, from week to week, to the doctrines of revelation or the duties of morality? I admit the difficulty of drawing the line, the *certi denique fines*, towards which we may decently approach, but ought never to overstep. I am aware of the temptation to which almost every preacher is hence at times exposed. I see the danger of converting the pulpit into the rostrum; but I cannot bring myself on this account to opugn what appears to me a duty incumbent upon every man both preacher and hearer; and I would much rather pardon that defect of taste, or excess of feeling, which may occasionally

hurry a preacher beyond the bounds of critical exactitude, than consent to his banishing, with cold and spiritless forbearance, the memorial of every national concern from the sacred desk, in which he appears in the twofold and venerable character of the organ and instructor of his auditory.

CHAPTER XIII.

Dr. Geddes perseveres in his Translation of the Bible—

Again oppressed with pecuniary difficulties—discloses his situation to his friends—their generous and affectionate assistance—again in a state of ease and independence—Publishes his Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain—the cause of his publishing it at the present period—an analysis of the work, A. D. 1799—1800.

THE preceding chapter, which has been confined to a notice of several of the lighter exercises and occupations of the subject of these memoirs, exhibits him almost as an idler in comparison with those severer and more elaborate pursuits to which his life was for the greater part devoted. Yet Dr. Geddes was at no time an idler, and less than any at the period of which we have just been taking a survey: for though his literary recreations, his garden, and his friends, made a happy diversion in his employments, and shared liberally in the division of his time, he still attentively applied himself, in his more serious hours, to his critical and voluminous Translation of the Bible. Towards the

close of 1793 he found his health sufficiently restored, and his spirits sufficiently reanimated, to renew the undertaking with assiduity: he persevered, with few intervals of relaxation, through the two ensuing years, completed his second volume in the spring of 1796, and published it in 1797. The first volume, as in duty bound, he had dedicated to Lord Petre: and having discharged this debt of gratitude, he inscribed the second "To her ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER, an early, spontaneous, and liberal encourager of the Work;" an inscription which, though unaccompanied with the formality of an express permission, was received, as I am assured, with much benevolence and complacency.

On the completion of these two volumes he set seriously to work in arranging for the press his volume of Critical Remarks upon the Pentateuch. This, and this only, he lived to finish. It made its appearance in 1800, and was ushered into the world without a dedication to any person. At its close, however, we meet with a poetic address in Latin, not altogether free from those errors *quos incuria fundit*, superscribed, "Ad Amicum mei amantissimum, J. D."—"To my very affectionate Friend, J. D.:" the initials in which are well known to designate the name of Dr. Disney, a gentleman of whose friendship Dr. Geddes might well

be proud, and who had indeed not only been his affectionate friend, but his perpetual benefactor and counsellor. As the verses in which this Address is couched convey an explicit statement of his opinion respecting the inspiration of Moses, I shall take the liberty of transcribing them.

AD AMICUM MEI AMANTISSIMUM J. D.

Num fuerit MOSES cœlesti flamine motus?

Quæris—responsum hoc habe, amice, meum.

Motus erat certo cœlesti flamine Moses;

Moti quo Teutas, Numa, Lycurgus erant.

Nempe omnes Sophiæ sacro de fonte biberunt:

Hauferunt large hi; largius ille tamen.

Nec tamen Hunc semper latices hausisse putato

Illimes; luteas non semel hausit aquas.

Uni homini tantum licuit deducere lymphas

Omnino puras—ille homo CHRISTUS erat.

Ille etenim solus, divino numine plenus,

Leges perfectas, jus sine labe tulit.

Ergo, alii fileant legum quicunque latores;

Mi JESUS CHRISTUS legifer unus erit.

Ah! possem tantum tua, CHRISTE, absolvere dicta,

Tunc essent votis cuncta secunda meis.

Ast TU, nate Deo, qui cum PATRE omnia possis,

Tu mihi speratam, SPES mea! TU fer opem.

Per TE concessio, cœlesti robore fultus,

Promptus ego tua vestigia, CHRISTE, premam.

Nam tua calcanti vestigia sacra salutem

Es TU pollicitus—sed tua verba manent.

“Me, me qui sequitur, tenebris non ambulat,” inquis:

En ego TE, possum quomodo, CHRISTE, sequor.

Sis mihi Tu lumen ; sis semper clara lucerna ;
 Sis certum indicium, dux simul atque viæ.
 Te duce, callis ego metuenda pericula spernam
 Angusti, et tecum gnaviter astra petam.*

Of these three volumes, I do not know the exact number of copies to which their sale has hitherto extended ; and still less the degree of comparative preference with which they have been sought after by the public : but I have every reason to believe that the demand for them did not keep

* The following is our poet's own translation of these verses into English ; with which, as well as several other documents, I have been obligingly favored by my friend Timothy Brown, Esq. at the request of whose family the translation was made. It is but fair to observe, however, that the English, although freer from mere metrical defects than the Latin, is at the same time less pointed and animated. It is here simply introduced as a translation.

You ask me, *serious*, whether I believe
 That Moses was inspired ?—My friend, receive
 This *serious* answer : Yes, he was inspired
 With that same flame which Numa's bosom fired.
 Numa, Lycurgus, every other sage
 Who legislated for a barbarous age
 All drank from *Wisdom's* fount, or *Wisdom's* rill ;
 Large draughts *they* drew—but *Moses* larger still.

Yet think not all the draughts that Moses drew
 Were limpid draughts—sometimes a slimy hue
 Beting'd the waters :—since the world began,
 One man drew *purely*—JESUS was that man !
 JESUS alone, full of the Godhead, brought
 A code of laws divine, that lacketh nought.

pace with our author's first expectations. In such a declaration, indeed, the reader has already perhaps anticipated me. Some parts of his version, I have already observed, are by no means rendered with dignity or felicity of diction : many of his opinions were unpopular ; and the personal and uncharitable opposition which was excited against him by a variety of different persuasions in the christian church, was highly injurious to the circulation of the work : yet, after all, the translator himself was perhaps its greatest enemy. The art of pushing a book into notice, and forcing it not

Then dumb let other legislators be,
And JESUS only legislate for me.

Ah ! JESUS ! could I but thy law fulfil,
I'd deem myself beyond the reach of ill,
Each wish complete :—but thou to whom is “ given,”
By thy great Sire, “ all pow'r in earth and heaven,”
Do thou, my Hope ! the hoped-for aid impart,
And with celestial succour string my heart.
Supported thus, I joyfully will trace
Thy sacred footsteps with an eager pace.
Since thou hast said (whose words were *never* vain)
That he who runs with thee the prize shall gain,
“ Me, me who follows, cannot miss the mark ;
“ He ne'er shall fall nor stumble in the dark”—
Thee, JESUS ! thee I follow—as I may ;
Be thou my *light* and *leader* on the way :
Tho' strait the path, its dangers I despise,
And trust WITH THEE to reach the starry skies.

only upon the view, but into the very hands of the public, be its merits or demerits, the general inclination or disinclination concerning it what they may, is altogether of modern birth; and Dr. Geddes, who was never a man of the world even in his youth, was wretchedly calculated in the latter years of his life for an initiation into any such craft or mystery. Instead, therefore, of spending forty or fifty pounds upon advertizing every separate volume, Mr. Johnson, one of his bookfellers, has informed me that he does not believe he ever spent five guineas upon advertizing the whole of them; and that when, upon our author's informing him the volume containing the Critical Remarks was just ready for publication, he hinted the propriety of pressing it upon the public eye by a continuance of extensive advertisements, his answer was, that for his own part he did not see there was any necessity whatever for such a step: he had already, he added, informed his friends of its being printed, and he should perhaps put an advertisement into the *Morning Chronicle*—a paper to which, moreover, he generally had a gratuitous access in consequence of the assistance which he also had gratuitously afforded it on particular occasions!

Dr. Geddes had either forgotten his past embarrassments, or had never possessed the important talent of learning wisdom by misfortune. The want

of knowledge which he manifested in this mode of advertizing his work, he manifested equally in all the rest of his transactions with the world. Such, therefore, being the fact, had he never engaged in the trade of authorship, and particularly in that branch of it which consists in becoming his own vender, he must necessarily have exceeded the salary allowed him by his noble patron, "*magnificent*," as he estimated it, and justly estimated it, on its first grant. But by plunging himself, with many incumbrances already on his back, and no capital whatever in hand, save that of upright intention and mere hope of success, into so considerable an expence as the present, it was impossible he should not once more become deeply embarrassed. His difficulties and burdens indeed pressed him at length so heavily as to be altogether insupportable; and the trifling assistances he had received from several friends, who suspected his finances were not in the most flourishing state, had only mingled, like so many drops, in the general torrent of distress, without producing the remotest degree of sensible variation. To his friend lord Petre he did not choose to unbosom himself; he had no claim upon him for any additional generosity, and, encumbered as he was, he still felt profoundly the liberality of the stipend he received.

To one or two other friends he at length, how-

ever, mustered courage enough to disclose his entire situation ; and it is to the credit of the British name, and particularly of the age in which we live, that the disclosure was no sooner communicated than a plan was devised for his extrication ; almost indeed without his knowledge, and certainly in a way far more calculated to gratify than to wound the feelings of a heart naturally irritable and impatient of misfortune. It is to the credit of the age in which we live, that without any further application on his own part, persons of every rank and religious persuasion, protestants and catholics, clergy and laity, nobility and gentry, several of whom had never known him but by name, and many of whom had openly professed a dislike of his favorite tenets, united in one charitable effort to rescue him from anxiety and distress ; nor should it be forgotten that some part, at least, of the amount subscribed proceeded from the right reverend bench itself. The names of those who thus generously interfered, together with the total of the sums collected, and the mode in which they were applied, I have had an opportunity of minutely inspecting. Many of the accounts, those at least which relate to the contributions of protestants, are still, I believe, in the possession of Dr. Disney and Mr. Brown, whose united zeal is well known to have been indefatigable upon the occasion :

and, from the calculations I have been able to make, I find that in about two years and a half, from the beginning of 1798 to the middle of 1800, there was collected and expended on his account little less than 900*l*. sterling, independently of the annuity he still, as usual, continued to receive from lord Petre. Most of his involvements having, moreover, been occasioned by the voluminous publication in which he was engaged, his obligations to paper-makers and printers, an additional proposal was at the same time made, which, if carried into effect (and nothing but his premature death obstructed it), would have necessarily precluded him from every similar evil in future: this proposal was, that his friends should take upon themselves the entire expense of his subsequent volumes, receiving from time to time their various produce till such expense was completely liquidated—provided the produce should be adequate to the liquidation—and that the author should from this period receive the surplus for himself.

Never, therefore, was there any man thus repeatedly entangled in pecuniary embarrassments, who, perhaps, found himself more fortunate than Dr. Geddes. His heart on the present very liberal interference, as may naturally be expected, became lightened; he reassumed his habitual vi-

vacuity ; all nature, to his delighted eye, appeared to be invested with new charms—

And, redolent of joy and youth,
To breathe a second spring.

He now seriously applied himself to a revival for the press of a treatise upon the harmless nature of the catholic religion, in relation to secular governments of every description, when reduced to its pure and primary principles, and divested of those temporal and inconsistent powers which the lawless ambition of the court of Rome has at different periods endeavored to introduce into it. This treatise, as I have already observed*, was originally drawn up in 1782, during the riots in Scotland and England, upon the subject of sir George Saville's bill in favor of persons professing the Roman catholic religion, but was suppressed in its publication in consequence of the prejudices and intemperance of the times. The times were, however, at length become more propitious ; the good faith of the British catholics had been proved through a period of nearly twenty years ; the spirit of animosity had subsided ; and the wisdom of those indulgences which had been accorded by parliament were rendered every day more

* Chap. iii. p. 74.

manifest. The catholics of Ireland still labored, however, under many grievances, to which those of the sister kingdom were no longer exposed; and this, notwithstanding the vast majority of their population in comparison with the members of the established church, and the repeated promises by which government had pledged itself to grant them relief. The expediency of such relief, and the conduct of the existing administration in this respect, had now become a subject of parliamentary inquiry; the public mind was anxious for information, and our author seized, with laudable avidity, the opportunity which was thus presented to him, and brought forth his treatise under the title of “A Modest Apology for the Roman Catholics of Great Britain; addressed to all moderate Protestants; particularly to the Members of both Houses of Parliament.” It was published anonymously. Dr. Geddes was well aware that the introduction of his own name would not, at this period, assist its circulation; and, by suppressing it, he gave an evident token of his attachment to the cause he thus attempted to serve. He was soon known, however, to be the author of it, as well from the intrinsic testimony of its style as from the various rumors of his friends. Yet it had now established its reputation upon the basis of its own real merit; and while it was sedulously fought after at home, it had met with equal success on the continent, and

had been translated both into French and German.

The object of this Apology, as the author informs us in his introduction, is to prove that so far from a necessity for that intolerance which has been too generally practised in Ireland, there is nothing in the real principles of either British or Irish catholics to render even those comparatively lighter disabilities necessary, under which the former are at present suffering, notwithstanding the two statutes in their favor, which have been enacted in the reign of Geo. III.: and that every disability, if not a persecution, is a disgrace, and as such ought to be removed from a community of subjects as loyal “as the dissenting protestants, or any other protestants of the land.” He conceives that they are only allowed to continue from some still remaining *misapprehension* of the real principles of this community; and to eradicate such a misapprehension he proceeds to draw a parallel between the doctrines and discipline of the catholic and the English churches. In the preamble to the work he thus liberally expresses himself:

“Before I enter upon the subject, I must beg leave to make a few previous observations. And, first of all, in assuming the character of an apologist for those of my persuasion, I mean not, in any respect, to justify the conduct of all those who have, in different times and countries, borne the

name of catholics; and, under that name, have been often guilty of the most extravagant excesses. It is, indeed, hard that this premonition should be rendered necessary through the obstinacy of ungenerous adversaries, who will continue to rake in the rotten sepulchres of our criminal ancestors for filth to throw at their innocent posterity, and to collect from the scandals and sacrileges of the catholics of all ages a subject of impeachment against those of the present age. Of at least a hundred combatants, who have within these last twenty years declared themselves the champions of protestancy, or rather the adversaries of popery, I am perfectly safe to say, that there are not five who have not shot at us from that envenomed quiver; and I am sorry to be obliged to add that their shafts have too seldom missed their aim.

“ Yet surely nothing can be more illiberal and iniquitous. *Æsop's* wolf quarrelled with the poor lamb for the pretended crimes of his immediate father, but our more unreasonable persecutors would make us accountable back to the tenth generation. What, pray, have we of the eighteenth century to do with the ignorance of the ninth, the superstition of the twelfth, or the fanaticism of the sixteenth? let who will paint the phrensy of the Crusades, the horrors of the Valdensian persecution, the fury of the French league, the

barbarity of the Irish massacre, and all the other common-place topics of party declamation. As a lover of truth, I might be provoked to strip the piece of a part of its colouring, where I were convinced it were overcharged; but as a christian and a catholic, I am no further concerned, than seriously to lament, that ever there should have existed christians and catholics so forgetful of their own principles, as to act in diametrical opposition to them.

“ What need have we to be informed, by every pulpit rhetorician and polemical scribbler, that there have been haughty, imperious, domineering popes; avaricious and simoniacal bishops; dissolute and disorderly monks; a licentious and libertine clergy? Have not our own Bernards, and Bennos, and Gersons, and Guicciardinis, and Eadmers, and Ortuins, described all that infamy, with equal accuracy, and much more eloquence? We read their invectives with astonishment and indignation, we bewail the misfortune of those who lived in times of such corruption and depravity, and bless ourselves that Providence has cast our lot in better days; but we cannot be so unjust as to charge ourselves with crimes and abominations, in which neither we nor our fathers had any share.

“ Nor are we any more accountable for the large crops of spiritual cockle that have been, at

different times, ‘ while men slept,’ sown by the enemy in the wide field of the catholic world; and which, at certain periods, seem almost to have choked the good grain—I mean the enervation of ancient church discipline; the fabrication of false decretals; the multiplication of appeals, dispensations, exemptions, immunities and enormous privileges; the rage of idle pilgrimages; the base traffic of indulgences; the propagation of lying legends; feigned miracles and apocryphal revelations; the doctrines of the pope’s infallibility, temporal jurisdiction and deposing power! All those tares have either happily been rooted out by the vigilance of zealous pastors, or, if there still remain some undergrowths,

..... Priscæ vestigia fraudis
 Pauca

they are, for the most part, such as it were, perhaps, better to leave till the last great harvest, when the divine Master will ordain of them according to his good pleasure.

“ I must also further declare, that I will not, in this Apology, pay the least attention to any arguments or objections drawn from the various opinions and decisions of our scholastic divines or casuists, against which any catholic may argue as strongly as any protestant, and for which, they only who defend them are responsible.

“ This will at once lop off from my subject a large portion of extraneous matter, with which it is not necessarily connected ; and, by reducing the lines to a narrower compass, render the post I have taken more tenable against a desperate attack. And, indeed, who would encumber himself with any thing not absolutely necessary for his defence? much less with what might endanger his safety ?

“ It would be hard, indeed, if I were obliged to defend and reconcile the jarring systems of catholic theologues ; Transalpine ideas of papal despotism with the liberties of the Gallican church and declarations of the Gallican clergy, Thomists with Scotists, Rigorists with Probabilists, the predetermination of the Dominicans with the congruism of the Jesuits, Bellarmine with Barclay, Flavigny with Morinus, Knott with Petrus Aurelius, Parsons with Witherington, &c.

“ I repeat it, then ; I will have nothing to do with all that. My business is to defend, or, if ye will, excuse the real and confessed principles of the catholic religion, which were at all times, and in all places, the indisputable principles of catholics, which every catholic will acknowledge, and which no catholic can reasonably deny.”

His subject he divides into three sections. “ In the first,” says he, “ I shall lay before the reader

those articles of catholic belief, about which there is, or ought to be, no dispute; because they are articles in which we are perfectly agreed with all protestants: and it will appear, I apprehend, that those articles are much more numerous and important than it is generally imagined; at least than pragmatistical fomenters of division are willing to have it known.

“ In the second section, I shall mark more particularly the points in which we are either perfectly agreed, or nearly coincide, with some one or other protestant communion; especially with the established church of England.

“ In the third section, I shall fairly and candidly sum up all the tenets that are peculiar to catholics; ascertain what is certain, remove what is doubtful, and determine the strict sense in which a British catholic receives them: and, which is the principal part of this undertaking, defend, or apologize for those tenets, the best I can; and endeavor to show that they merit neither proscription nor persecution, nor even the privation of a single privilege that other Britons enjoy.”

The first section needs not detain us except to notice that the different denominations of protestants to whom the author principally refers, are the church of England, the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and the Socinians. In section the second, he ob-

serves that the catholic church is perfectly agreed with the church of England in the doctrines of the trinity, of the incarnation of the Word, of the sufferings, death, and mediatorship of Jesus Christ, and of the personality and efficacy of the Holy Ghost. The catholic, he proceeds to assert, can cordially subscribe a considerable number of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England: he believes that the visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, &c.*: that this "church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith†;" yet so, that it is not lawful for her to ordain any thing which is contrary to God's word; and that "every national church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish church rites or ceremonies ordained only by man's authority ‡." With the church of England he admits a spiritual hierarchy, consisting of bishops, priests, and deacons, together with the general principles upon which such a hierarchy is founded, as advanced in articles xxiii. and xxvi. He unites with the same church in her articles upon the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper§: in acknowledging the utility of a public liturgy, and the expediency of subjecting it to occa-

* Art. 19. † Art. 20. ‡ Art. 34.

§ Art. 25, 27, 28.

sional alterations *: and he sees that the liturgy of each church is so nearly allied, that with very little variation the one might be substituted for the other.

“ Our ecclesiastic polity,” says the author, “ was the platform on which that of the church of England’s was laid—our canon law is still, in a great measure, the rule of her judicatories.—She has her spiritual consistorial courts, her decrees, her censures, from us.—She has her subordinate church government, her primates, her prelates, her archbishops and bishops, her deans, prebendaries, canons, and other dignitaries—her dioceses, parishes, cathedrals, and common churches; her benefices, her tythes, her perquisites, her Easter-dues, and free-will offerings; her very surplices, lawn-sleeves and mitres—all from us. In these respects we are so resemblant, that other protestant sects consider us as two sisters of the same family; which, like Ovid’s sea-nymphs, have somewhat different traits of countenance, but not dissimilar faces†; and on this account abuse them both alike.”

What then are the real or apparent differences

* See “ Concerning the Service of the Church,” and “ The Preface.”

† “ Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum.”

which actually subsist between English Roman catholics and the protestants of the established church of England? And here the first our author advances is THE RULE OF FAITH: the church of Rome appealing to TRADITION, and the church of England to SCRIPTURE. But what is at last the result of all those violent controversies and disputes that have been displayed by the two parties upon this very point? The former, which at one time contended for *tradition only*, now admits that the rule of faith is derived from the *word of God* whether *written* or *unwritten*, that is from TRADITION in conjunction with SCRIPTURE; while SCRIPTURE, which in an earlier æra was solely combated for by the latter, is now owned, in the language of Stillingfleet, “to be our rule; and universal TRADITION the evidence on which we receive the books*.

But WHO IS THE JUDGE OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES? Here is another difference which has often been regarded as extreme: the church of England professing to appeal to *scripture* alone; and the church of Rome, persuaded that scripture cannot interpret itself, and apprized that it is equally appealed to by christians of the most opposite opinions—maintaining that she alone is the arbitrator.

* Answer to Sergeant's Catholic Letters, p. 16.

“ One of the greatest controversies which ever disturbed christianity,” says our author, “ was that concerning the *divinity* of Jesus Christ. How was it ultimately decided? Not by scripture: for both parties equally appealed to it; and, in my humble opinion, the Arians brought more plausible arguments from that repository than the Athanasians. Nor was the question decided by tradition: for both quoted the earlier christian writers, as favourable to themselves; and it must be confessed, I think, that the Antinicensian fathers are, at most, ambiguous witnesses.—How then was the question, at length, resolved? Why, by a majority of suffrages in a council of 318 bishops; by whom the *consubstantiality* of the SON with the FATHER was declared to be an article of christian faith: and this article of christian faith makes a part, a principal part of the protestant as well as of the catholic creed. In the protestant church of England, in particular, the creed of Nice is as much a standard of belief as in the church of Rome; and is publicly recited in the liturgies of both.

“ I know it has been said, that the church of England receives the article of *consubstantiation* and the other articles contained in the Nicene creed, not on the authority of the Nicene, or any other council, but because they are scripture doctrines. But is not this evidently begging the ques-

tion? Many protestants, and these not the least learned, find no such doctrine as *consubstantiation* in the scriptures; and the whole body of ancient Arians, who once divided the christian world, affirmed that no such doctrine could be proved from scripture.—Scripture, then, cannot be a decisive judge of controverted points: and some other tribunal must be sought, if a decision is to be made in matters of religious controversy.—“In truth,” continues he, “I cannot well conceive how any *confession*, or *profession* of faith, *creed* or *catechism* of any kind, could be imposed on the members of any society as a test of orthodoxy, if the imposers did not consider themselves as competent and lawful judges.”

Our author therefore concludes, that the Roman catholic tenet “*that the church, not the Bible, is the ultimate judge in religious controversies,*” is, if repugnant to the principles, certainly not to the practice of protestants.

BUT IS THE CHURCH AN INFALLIBLE JUDGE? “She is,” say the catholics; “she is not,” say the protestants: to which last answer our author seems most disposed to incline. As to the personal infallibility of the pope, he totally rejects it, as it is also rejected by the great body of the English catholics, as well as by most of the catholic churches on the continent. Allowing, however,

that infallibility is vested in the church, he proceeds to assert that the Romanists have seldom or never coincided in their idea of what sort of a church has a right to such a claim. "In truth," says he, "when we consider that we ourselves are not agreed about the seat of infallibility, any more than psychologists are about the seat of the soul—and that, wheresoever we place it, it has never been determined what are its boundaries, and how far its influence extends? how decisions about matters of faith are to be distinguished from decisions concerning discipline? what councils are œcumenical, what not? when councils act *conciiliariter* or otherwise—or when a pope speaks *ex cathedra*, or as a private divine, &c.—in a word, what conditions and circumstances are necessary to constitute an infallible tribunal?—we can hardly help agreeing with an anonymous writer on what is called the *popish controversy*, 'That after all that has been written on the church's infallibility, it at last dwindles away into some arbitrary *notes* and *marks** of a church; and is at best but a moral

* "Our theologians labour to prove that the Romish church is not only *a* true church, but the *only* true church; because, say they, she alone has the *marks* of the true church: *unity, holiness, universality, and apostolicity*. But here the *onus probandi* grows excessively heavy on their shoulders: and even the gigantic Bellarmine himself succumbs under the load."

certainty*.' Or, with bishop Burnet, 'That the church's authority is rather an authority of *order*, than of *infallibility*.' In which sense, I believe, every church, as well as the Roman church, without pretending to be infallible, acts as if she were so."

The difference resulting from THE SUPREMACY, POWER, AND PREROGATIVES ASCRIBED TO THE POPE, involves our author, as he candidly acknowledges, in a difficult task. He does not conceive, however, that this tenet rightly understood, and such as it is at present generally held by the catholics of Great Britain, as well as those of most other countries, has any thing in it dangerous to any state or government. "When circumvested," says he, "with supposed infallibility, uncircumscribed by canons, and in the hands of an aspiring ambitious pontiff, such a power could not but be dangerous: and so it proved.—From it, as from the Trojan horse, issued forth an Iliad of evils, which, for a time, destroyed all lawful subordination, and subjected crowns and tiaras to the will and pleasure of one absolute ghostly despot, who governed a great portion of the world with sovereign sway.

"Yet this usurped empire was neither universal, nor, in its highest altitude, of long duration.

* "Discourse concerning the Judge of Controversies."
1689 p. 62.

It fell more rapidly than it rose, and is now almost totally annihilated. Kings no more dread the effects of pontific rage; Vatican fulminations are no longer formidable; Roman infallibility is laughed at even in Rome itself; and a pope's *bull*, or *breve*, is, as such, as little regarded at Paris, Vienna, Madrid, and Lisbon, as it would be at Petersburg, Berlin, Copenhagen, or London.

“ ‘ Still (it will be urged) the pope's SUPREMACY is a Roman catholic tenet—it was once, confessedly, a dangerous tenet—what was once dangerous may become so again—and, therefore, every *protestant* state should be careful to prevent it from ever recovering its former pernicious influence.’—Undoubtedly—and so, too, should every *catholic* state: and, in reality, there is not, I believe, any catholic state in Christendom that is not as jealous of papal influence as we can be.—But, jealous as they are, they see no danger from acknowledging the bishop of Rome to be in *rank*, *honour*, and *dignity*, the first prelate in the christian church—a privilege which was early conferred on him, partly from his being the supposed successor of two great apostles, but chiefly from his SEE being in the capital of the Roman empire; a privilege acknowledged by the councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Chalcedon, and admitted even by the Greeks themselves in the council of Flo-

rence; although they soon repented, and retracted the concession."

The remaining differences, and which constitute the last division of the Apology, regard chiefly, "The number and nature of the Christian Sacraments—Grace—Good Works—Works of Supererogation—Invocation of Saints—Veneration of Images and Relics—Purgatory, and Prayer for the Dead—Clerical Celibacy—Religious Orders—Pilgrimages—Consecration of Churches, Bells, Crucifixes, Images, Holy Water, Oil, Candles, Palm-Branches, Beads, Rosaries, Medals, Agnus Deis, &c. &c. of all which," says our author, "I mean to give a fair and candid statement, and leave to my protestant readers to determine whether any of them be dangerous to civil society, so as to merit the proscription of those who believe, or practise them."

In the consideration of these minor differences I shall not follow our apologist. From the analysis I have already given, the reader may perceive the path he is likely to take; and will, I apprehend, be as ready as himself to admit that they contain nothing dangerous to civil society. In general, he makes an ingenious effort to assimilate, wherever he can, the doctrines and practices here adverted to, with a variety of rites and principles in different protestant churches; and in every

instance of the former ascribes far less importance to them than they are commonly conceived to possess; and on many occasions, far less than the body of catholics are disposed to allow: the great defect of this excellent and admirable defence being, that it discriminates with too little precision the opinions of its author as an individual man from those of the general communion of which he was an individual member; a defect for which I have often heard it condemned by several of our apologist's warmest catholic friends; who, in every other consideration, were ardent in its praises. It nevertheless advanced him very highly in the general estimation of his own community; and, notwithstanding the freedom with which he has uniformly delivered his opinions, was regarded as a most valuable and elaborate performance even at the Vatican.

CHAPTER XIV.

General observations—Death of lord Petre—Deep distress of Dr. Geddes—Kindness and condolence of his friends—Elegy on lord Petre—Bequest of his lordship—Generous offer of T. Brown, Esq.—Munificent salary of the present lord Petre—Dr. Geddes endeavors to resume his accustomed cheerfulness—his temporary amusements—Battle of the Bards—Ode on the Return of Peace—Illness and gradual decay—Alternations from extreme pain to moderate ease—Elegy to the Shade of Gilbert Wakefield—Last interview between the biographer and Dr. Geddes—his death. A. D. 1800—1802.

Dr. Geddes had at this period (1800) entered into his sixty-fourth year; yet the vigor, activity, and even sprightliness of youth still accompanied him, and with the recovery of his health he seemed to have obtained a new lease of his existence. Without “overstepping the modesty of nature” he was uniformly playful with the young and fe-date with the old, jovial at the dining table, and unconstrained in the drawing room; the spirit of every party and the life of every conversation. Among the members of his own community he had re-acquired some degree of popularity by the able

apology he had written in their behalf, and the fame of his talents had induced several learned foreigners, and especially in Germany, to be solicitous of the honor of his friendship and correspondence*, and occasionally even of visiting him in his own country. To the former he unbosomed himself with courteousness and sincerity: while he uniformly received the latter with frankness and affability. Among the foreigners for whom he, at this period, discovered the greatest degree of attachment were, if I mistake not, professor Timæus, of the royal college at Lüneburg; general Miranda, who is well known for the talents and heroism he displayed in the course of the late war, during the first successes of the French army in Italy under the command of Bonaparte, but who, from an honest avowal of his dislike to the violence which was afterwards manifested by the revolutionary government, was superseded, and

* In the list of his more intimate correspondents and highly esteemed friends were professor Paulus of Jena, and the justly celebrated M. Eickhorn of Göttingen. From a variety of autograph letters from these very able critics, now in my possession, I have selected two or three, as affording specimens of the sincere regard they entertained for Dr. Geddes, and the high value at which they appreciated his talents. The reader will find them introduced at the end of the volume in the form of an Appendix.

even suspected of royalism, and compelled to find an asylum in England; and his own brother, the Rev. John Geddes, a monk of the order of St. Bennet, whose stated residence was in the Scotch monastery at Würzburg, but who could not refrain from paying the doctor a visit of congratulation upon his recovery from the severe illness to which he had been so long a victim.

Towards the close of this year he published another Macaronic Poem in Latin, which he afterwards translated into English, having been seduced, by what was certainly a tempting subject, the absurd, but at that time celebrated battle between two brother bards, in Mr. Wright's shop in Piccadilly. The poem appeared under the title of "Bardomachia, or the Battle of the Bards;" but as the subject itself was temporary and productive of no honor to either party, I shall not attempt to arrest it in its flight to oblivion, towards which I most heartily wish it good speed, by copying a single verse from either the Latin or English which employed our author's pen on this occasion. There are many of his unpublished jeux d'esprit written about the same period, which are far better entitled to notice. From these I have been permitted to select the following, which is well known to have been written impromptu, during a momen-

tary fuspicion that the lady to whom they are addressed had forgotten her promise to breakfast with him, and at least prove the fluency and facility with which he wrote :

THE TRANSIENT FIT OF ANGER.

ADDRESSED TO MISS D——.

UNGRATEFUL girl ! is this the way
My love and friendship you repay ?
Did you not say, and swear by heav'n
You would be with me at eleven,
With all your male and female train ?
I hop'd you would—but hop'd in vain.

Was it for this I got for thee
A full half pound of Schousong tea ?
And then, that Schousong tea to sweeten,
A pound of sugar the best in Britain :
With cream as white as any snow,
And sweet as any flow'rs that blow !
Butter from Epping ! biscuits rare,
Some round, some oval, others square !
New radishes from mine own garden,
Each worth, at least, a penny farthing !
With *Noiaux de Martinique*,
To raise a blush in the pale cheek ;
Whence, as a little bit of bliss,
I might have stol'n a little kiss.

But all this bliss and all my plan
Have been o'erturned by treach'rous FAN !

These words I mutter'd in my mind,
 And call'd thee twenty times unkind;
 When lo! I hear my servant roar:
 "The gentle folks are at the door!"
 "'Tis well,"—I said, and quick forgot
 The transient ire that made me hot."

April 30, 1800.

How unstable is the foundation of human happiness! how brittle the thread from which the comforts of life are suspended! It may be trite thus to moralize; but it is natural; and the heart which, upon any sudden and violent reverse of fortune, though not immediately interested itself, does not feel the sentiment, is at least cold, if not criminal. In the midst of this heighday of health and happiness, of friendship and augmenting fame, Dr. Geddes was abruptly called upon to sustain a loss, in comparison of which every loss and disappointment he had before encountered was light and diminutive, and from the effects of which he never fully recovered—he lost his PATRON, who died suddenly of an attack of the gout, July 2, 1801, aged 68, equally lamented by the lower ranks of life, which he benefited, and the higher, which he adorned.

Consolation was now almost in vain: for in the first agony of his grief he refused to be comforted.

He had lost a benefactor who, for twenty years, had supported, a counsellor who had advised, a protector who had defended him, and a friend to whose house and whose heart he could at all times apply, with a ready welcome, upon every doubt or emergency, and whence, upon every application, he was sure to derive benefit. He felt the void hereby produced in his happiness, and almost in his existence, to be irreparable, and it was long before his mind recovered any sufficiency of calmness to reason upon the subject, or admit the sympathies of surviving friendship. He at length yielded however to the kind efforts of obtrusive condolence; his grief assumed a milder character; and as soon as his shattered spirits would allow, vented its feelings in the following plaintive Elegy:

IN OBITUM

HONESTISSIMI, INTEGERRIMI, MEIQUE AMICISSIMI VIRI,

DOMINI DE PETRE.

ERGONE abripuit mihi mors crudelis amicum,

Dulce decus, columen præsidiumque meum!

Abripuit, medio vix lapso temporis ævo

Quod dare terrigenis fata benigna solent.

Heu ! heu ! quam subito mortalis labitur ætas ;

Quam celeri gressu nex inopina venit !

Nex atrox ! nulli parcens, et nescia flecti !

Sic mihi delicias tu, truculenta ! rapis ?

Non PETRI pietas, nec fervida vota suorum

Lethalem poterant jam cohibere manum!

Duræ adsunt Parcæ, truncantes stamina vitæ;

Nobilis ac animus corpus inane fugit.

Quam tibi tum fuerat, quam vivus, JULIA, sensus;

Tali, tam juvenis, vae! viduata VIRO?

Sed tibi sunt casti carissima pignora amoris:

Hæc tibi tristitiæ dulce levamen erunt.

Qui dolor excrucians invasit pectora NATI,

Cum PATER, ante oculos, jam moriturus erat!

Sed nato est suavis conjux, suavissima proles:

Proles et conjux dulce levamen erunt.

Ast mihi mœroris non ullum est dulce levamen;

Fomento nullo plaga levanda mea!

Non mihi subridens soboles, non blanda sodalis,

Quæ queat æumnas extenuare meas.

Pro sponsa, sobole et, defuncto proque parente,

Instar cunctorum, solus AMICUS erat:

Solus amicus erat—sed qualis?—non mihi PRATER

Germanus tam, quam PETRUS amatus erat!

Scilicet, Is, princeps, est me dignatus amare;

Et, locuples, inopem me cumulare bonis.

Bis decies Phœbus cœlestia signa peregit;

Ex quo permissum est ejus amore frui:

Sum semper fructus, dum fallax vita manebat:

Noluit, ac moriens, non meminisse mei.

Illius alma manus, studiorum fida meorum

Fautrix—his studiis otia grata dedit.

Plangite, Pierides! et longos ducite planctus:

Musarum constans PETRUS amicus erat.

Tu, tu præcipuè, quæ carmina sacra Zionis

Pangis, tu gemitus ingeminato meos.

Quis tua, nunc, memet vestigia, Diva, legentem
 Per vepres, fessum quis relevare velit ?
 Me prope cum piguit tantos tolerare labores,
 Dejectos animos sustulit ille meos.
 Me cum mordaci lacerarent dente maligni,
 Et contrà fremeret cæca superstitio;
 "Putida tu sperne illorum convicia (dixit)
 "Cura tibi tantùm, perficiatur opus."
 Ah ! si, TE vivo, melior fortuna dedisset
 Huic operi summo summam adhibere manum;
 Et TIBI postremos, ut primos, PETRE, labores
 Sors mea donasset posse dicare meos:
 Gaudia quæ ? quanta ac esset mea pura voluptas ?
 Hoc desiderii summa, caputque mei !
 Ast aliter visum superis—forte emque subire
 Convenit—at fletus quis prohibere potest ?
 Omnibus es flendus, queis notus, PETRE, fuisti :
 Mi flendi finem non feret ulla dies.
 Ah ! quoties subiit DILECTI dulcis imago,
 Rigoras tingunt flumina falsa genas !
 Singultus tremuli spirantia viscera pulsant ;
 Rodit et occultus mollia corda dolor !
 Sed secura quies tua fors ! sedesque beatæ
 Te capiunt—Fruiere O ! sorte, BEATE ! tuâ.
 Et, si res liceat quandoque agnoscere nostras,
 Sis bonus—et nobis, qua pote, PETRE, fave !

A. G.

Scribebam in lectulo, dolens et infirmus ;

Prid. Non. Jul. 1801.

Feeling too unwell to engage in the task of an English version of this Elegy himself, at his request

I undertook it for him; and, having obtained his promise to dine with me on the ensuing day, presented him with the following stanzas, which, whatever be their demerit, had at least the satisfaction of obtaining his approbation.

ON THE DEATH OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE
LORD PETRE.

HAs cruel death, then, robbed me of my friend !
My guide, my guard, my first and dearest boast !
Robbed—ere he scarce had half-way reached his end,
Had Heaven allowed the days allowed to most ?
How swift, alas ! this mortal being flies ;
How eager Death his heedless prey to gain !
Dread Death ! remorseless ! deaf to human sighs !
Thou, barbarous ! thou ! who all my sweets hast slain.
Vain PETRE'S wishes ; vain the holy strife
Of fervent prayers to save him from the dead :
The present fates, relentless, claimed his life,
And from the flesh his generous spirit fled.
How, how severe, O JULIA, then thy grief,
Widowed so young, so vast the loss sustained !
But in thy children shalt thou find relief ;
These are thy balm, the pledge of love unfeigned.
What felt the son ! how deep his filial groan
When the last pang he saw his father seize !
Yet wife beloved, yet offspring are his own ;
And wife and offspring shall his wound appease.

But nought of balm does Heaven to me assign ;
 No solace sweet, with healing influence, flows ;
 No smiling infants, bland companion, mine,
 With deeds of love to mitigate my woes.

Spouse, fire, companion—he was all to me ;
 Though but a friend :—a friend? yet, ah, how dear!
 E'en with less joy my brother's face I see,
 Less feels my heart affinity so near.

And well my utmost love did PETRE claim,
 Who, rich himself, my poverty endowed—
 Twice ten times traced the Sun th' ethereal frame,
 While Heaven to me his tender love allowed :

'Twas mine perpetual—long as life remained ;
 Mine, e'en in death, till ceased his heart to beat ;
 His fostering hand, my studies that sustained,
 Gave to those studies recreation sweet.

Weep, Muses! weep—long sighs your bosoms fill!
 Patron of verse was PETRE ever found :

But chiefly thou, O Muse of Zion-hill,
 Groan with my groans, and loud our griefs resound.

Who now shall sooth me as my path I wind,
 Thy footsteps following, through entangling briars?—
 When, faint, at times the task I half resigned,
 He cheered my soul, and roused its latent fires.

When malice grinned, with fang so oft that daunts,
 When bigots, blind, o'erflowed with frantic foam,
 “Spurn, spurn,” said he, “these vile opprobrious taunts,
 “Care but for this—to close th' important tome.”

O! that, while Heaven allowed thee yet to be,
 This utmost work my utmost hand had past ;

That fate had given to dedicate to thee,

As my first labors, so alike my last:

What joy, what rapture had I then revealed!

This my chief wish, the summit of my prayer!

But Heaven denied:—to Heaven our hearts should yield,—

But who, meantime, from weeping can forbear?

All must bewail thee, PETRE! all who knew;

For me, my sorrows never shall subside.

As the loved image of my friend I view,

Down my ploughed cheeks how flows the briny tide!

Deep, trembling sobs convulse my laboring breast,

And secret anguish every nerve corrodes;

But rest is thine—secure, unsullied rest,

The songs of angels, and their bright abodes.

Enjoy, blest saint! enjoy the sweets that flow!

Unmingled sweets, whose fountain ne'er shall fail!

And, if thy powers can reach to man below,

O sloop, benign—let friendship still prevail.

He has truly said that lord Petre had not forgotten him at the close of existence, nor even in the contemplation of that close. He granted him by his will an annuity of 100*l.* for life: a sum which, if it did not amount to more than the moiety of the salary he had hitherto been accustomed to receive, derived much increase of value from the legal permanency and certainty of the income it afforded, and had, perhaps, in the view of his lordship, at the time when he drew up his

will, a prospect of no small accession from the state of forwardness the work he had so munificently patronized had now actually attained. It was soon suspected, however, that from the little wisdom of this world which Dr. Geddes had uniformly manifested, such a sudden defalcation in his revenue would in a short period be severely felt by himself, how superior soever to such a sensation his mind might appear at the present moment, and would certainly involve him in new difficulties and dilemmas; and his friend, Mr. Timothy Brown, of Chiswell-street, with a laudable instance of generosity, and an instance which truly ennobles the accumulation of wealth, speedily stepped forwards, and engaged that the annual deficit should be supplied either by the voluntary contributions of such of his friends who had assisted him of late, or, in their failure, by an individual salary of his own. "Providence," said he, (for I heard him repeat the assertion) "has given me wealth, but it has given Dr. Geddes talents: it is in his power to benefit the world by the exercise of those talents; and the little that I am called upon to perform is to encourage him in doing all the good of which such talents are capable." This exercise of generosity, however, was not necessary. The liberal spirit of the late lord Petre did not die with him; it is a fa-

mily virtue, and will, I trust, be propagated to the latest generation of the name. The noble heir of his lordship no sooner learned the expediency of continuing the stipend to Dr. Geddes in the latitude to which he had been accustomed to receive it, than he wrote to him in the most polite and friendly manner, and stated that it was his intention to add a salary of 100*l.* to the annuity of equal value bequeathed him by his father's will, so as to render the joint sum adequate to what he had hitherto been in the habit of enjoying.

It cannot be supposed that such repeated and affectionate proofs of attention should fail to operate on a heart like that of Dr. Geddes, overflowing with sensibility. He exerted himself to recover his accustomed cheerfulness, and though he did not fully succeed, and prophesied but too truly when he declared in his Elegy,

Mi flendi finem non feret ulla dies—

For me, my sorrows never shall subside—

he nevertheless acquired a tranquillity of mind, which was only occasionally interrupted by obtrusive remembrances of the past; and at times, indeed, exhibited proofs that the embers of his habitual hilarity still glowed with a few vital sparks. He did not, however, feel his powers at any period

sufficiently collected for a regular prosecution of his favorite undertaking. At the request of his friends, who, on his own account, and from the most benevolent motives, wished to stimulate him to his accustomed habits of study, he consented to prepare for the press a separate volume of the Psalms, of which I have already taken notice ; but the mere version of which he never lived to finish, and the Critical Remarks upon which he never attempted to begin. His life was now, therefore, a series of forced amusement rather than of voluntary study. Among other friends, I had occasionally the pleasure of his visits ; and when we have been alone, he has gone so far as to request a perusal of a manuscript translation of Lucretius, which he well knew I had completed, and which, in conjunction with its annotations, will shortly pay its respects to the public. This I cheerfully allowed, and he seemed to derive gratification from our perusing it together. The Muse was indeed at this time, as in former afflictions, his chief solace, whether he joined her in her visits to another petitioner, or found her at liberty and complacently disposed to attend upon his own entreaties, for he still entreated her, and on the establishment of the present peace published an ode in Latin Sapphics, entitled “ *Paci feliciter reduci Ode Sapphica, Auctore A. G.*” which was not only written, but

printed in 1801. This ode I have never regarded as possessing merit equal to the occasion on which it was penned. It incidentally flashes with a few coruscations of poetic fire, but for the most part is tame and inanimate. It has nevertheless been more highly estimated by many of the doctor's critical friends, and has been well translated into English by Mr. Ring, a gentleman whose classical taste I have had too many opportunities of observing to oppose without deference. The following verses may be selected as a fair specimen of the whole; in the construction of which our author informed me, at the time of writing them, that he found no small degree of perplexity, from the different modes by which public rejoicings are now testified from what they used to be among the Romans.

Eja nunc cives ! celebremus una
Hunc diem PACI reduci dicatum :
Et voluptatis studeamus omnes

Edere signa:

Splendeant nostræ radiis fenestræ
Luminis rari—nitidique lychni
Pendeant portis—jaculata flamma

Surgat ad auras.

Ætneæ emittant machinæ favillas,
Et sonos edant Jovis æmulantes
Fulmina—ast nullos globulos gerentes
Fulmina lethi.

Fistulæ • aves fidibus canoris

Concinant—chordæ et chelyos amænæ

Personent dulces modulos, perito

Pollice tactæ.*

Criticism is, however, most ungraciously employed in hunting after defects either in this or in any other piece which he occasionally composed at the present period; for the doctor was now laboring not merely under incidental depressions of spirit, but violent paroxysms of corporeal pain arising from a cancerous affection of the rectum;

* Of these stanzas I subjoin Mr. Ring's version, which is as follows :

Let us together celebrate the rites,
The festal hour to social mirth invites;
Peace, peace returns, and claims our votive lay,
Then let us all with pleasure crown the day.
Let ev'ry window shed a blazing light,
And pendent lamps dispel the gloom of night;
Let flames be hurl'd,—let kindling rockets rise,
And, with a train of glory, mount the skies.
Let cannons emulate almighty Jove,
Launching his lightning in the realms above;
And let the brazen tubes proclaim our joy
In thunders,—not in thunders that destroy.
Let the sweet flute pour warbling notes, and join
The trembling strings in harmony divine;
And bring the choicest of the tuneful train,
To sweep the lyre, and swell th' enchanting strain.

a pain indeed which was at times so excessive as to be almost insupportable. “I am idling away my time,” said he to me while he was composing this very ode; “I can do nothing else—I shall never be fit for study any more, and my only object at present is amusement.”

It was about the month of June 1801, the year at which we have now arrived, that he first became sensible of this dreadful disease. As is too customary in incipient cases, he paid but little attention to it; it increased, therefore, without opposition, and in a few weeks afterwards he was compelled, by excess of torture, to think of applying seriously for surgical assistance. On informing me confidentially of his situation, I was considerably alarmed for the consequence, and strenuously advised him to consult our common friend Mr. Ring, who had long preceded me in familiarity with him, whom he had been in the regular habit of consulting from the commencement of their acquaintance, and of whose professional talents and veneration for himself I was well convinced. Medical or chirurgical advice was by this time, however, equally become useless; and although, through the anxiety of his friends that he should obtain relief, he was compelled to receive progressively the opinion, and submit to the skill of almost every physician as well as surgeon of eminence in

the metropolis, it was all to no purpose—and he often lamented to me in private the additional trouble which such a multiplicity of advisers imposed upon him. The pro-egumenal or immediate cause of this complaint I know not, but it is at least indubitable, that the augmented irritability of his nervous system, which he had uniformly and progressively evinced ever since the decease of his friend lord Petre, considerably tended to exacerbate it, and consequently to diminish every hope of cure.

The alternations from excruciating torture to tolerable ease were, nevertheless, for a long time abrupt and frequent: and often, upon visiting him the ensuing day after that on which I had heard it was impossible he could ever more rise from his bed, I have been surpris'd to find him not only below stairs, but reassuming his habits of agility, and in the very act of carpentering or cultivating his garden. It was in an interval of this kind that he compos'd his Elegy on the Death of our friend Mr. Wakefield; the last piece, I believe, either in Latin or English that ever proceeded from his pen, and the only piece in which he has uniformly adopted the mythology of ancient Greece in preference to the figurative language of the Bible. The reason, however, is obvious; for, notwithstanding Mr. Wakefield's very valuable theological labors, he is chiefly known to the world

as a classical critic—as an ardent admirer and most excellent commentator upon the best poets of Greece and Rome. As adventuring upon a new undertaking, Dr. Geddes may therefore be considered as highly successful—though the task does not seem to sit quite so easy upon him, nor is conducted with quite so much discrimination as when engaged in subjects that allow him to exchange the fictitious scenery of the Greeks for the solid sublimities of the Hebrews. It is an admirable Elegy, nevertheless, considering the circumstances under which it was produced; and although, perhaps, not equal either in pathos or diction to that composed on the death of lord Petre, ranks, if I err not, immediately next to it, and consequently second in the whole class of his Latin exercises. As it has never been regularly published by himself, the reader will be pleased to find it inserted in this place at length*.

AD UMBRAM

GILBERTI WAKEFIELD

ELEGIA.

TE quoque subripuit nobis libitina severa

Nostratis critici gloria prima chori!

Subripuit flenti sponsæ, sobolique tenellæ;

Flentibus agnatis, omnibus atque bonis.

* The only form in which it has appeared before the public is in the Monthly Magazine for November 1801, under the signature of Musæus Junior.

Quæ tua fors?—Vixdum lætis reparatus amicis,
E tristi exilio carceribusque cavis;

En! subito traheris torvi ad vestibula ditis,

A quæis nemo redit—nemo redire potest.

Scilicet, insipiens, sapiens, probus, improbus æque,

Obscurus proavis, nobilitate tumens;

Plebs, princeps, pannis squalens et murice fulgens;

Pauperie oppressus, divitiis que valens:

Serius aut citius metam properamus ad unam,

Quicumque hanc auram hausimus ætheream!

Sed quem non doleat, cernentem vivere vitam

Longævam stolidos, criminibusque graves:

Dum pius, innocuus, doctus, vernantibus annis,

Ceu rosa florens tabe peresa, jacet?

Ast tibi, quantumvis fuerit brevis orbita vitæ,

Nec fama abfuerat, nec bene partus honos.

Vixisti, Wakefield! et longos vivet in annos

Pectoribus nostris lucida imago tui.

Interea ad campos felices dirige gressus;

Rura beatorum ac elysiumque pete.

Nam te non Erebus speret retinere barathro;

Nec piceas biberis tu Phlegetontis aquas.

Non etenim hirsuto tua nunc sub iudice lis est:

Arbiter est justus, Gnosius ille, Minos.

Hunc, placido vultu, gratas effundere voces

Audire has videor: "Vir bone! mitte metus!

"Novimus et qui sis, Wakefield! quantasque tulisti

"Noxas—hæc Hermes omnia nos docuit.

"Sed quicquid terris sit vestris, fasve nefasve,

"Justitiæ lex hic inviolata manet.

"Nil hic vel tituli valeant, nec dura potestas:

"Hic VIRTUS, VIRTUS semper, et una, valet.

- " Perge igitur quovis, et qualvis elige sedes :
 " Colles, convalles—omnia aperta patent.
 " Si Sophiæ lubeat claris te jungere alumnis,
 " En Tibi Pherecydes, Atticus atque senex !
 " Hos prope Pythagoras, Thales, doctusque Epicurus ;
 " Magnus Aristoteles, major et ipse Plato.
 " Nec defunt Latiae notissima nomina gentis ;
 " Tullius insignis, Brutus, uterque Cato :
 " Plinius, et Seneca, ac Marcus cognomine Divus,
 " Cui nomen virtus, non diadema, dedit.
 " Hos inter vestras Baconus, Lockius, atque
 " Newto, Britannorum gloria, fama, decus !
 " Quod si oratorum tenearis dulce loquentum
 " Flexanimis, verbis, lenibus atque sonis ;
 " Æolidis liceat niveas haurire loquelas ;
 " Nestoris et liquido melle fluente favis
 " Dulcius eloquium—Periclis retonantia dicta,
 " Queis Hellas toties territa, quassa, fuit !
 " Vim Demostheneam miraberis—et Ciceronis
 " Aurea verborum copia grata fluet
 " Auriculis avidis—Cum illis, simul, et tuus, olim,
 " Sedes non imas Foxius ipse premet.
 " Sin mavis tete sacris sociare poëtis,
 " In vita studio deliciisque tuis ;
 " Linus, et Hesiodus, Moschus, divinus Homerus,
 " Pindarus altivolans, mellifluusque Bion,
 " Æschylus, et grandis Sophocles, castique cothurni
 " Princeps Euripides—ista vireta colunt.
 " Illic et Sículus jucunda idyllia cantat ;
 " Ludit et argutis Teia Musa jocis.
 " Illic Virgilius, Flaccusque, et Lufor Amorum,
 " Ingenio periit qui miser ipse suo.

- " Illic sublimis spectabilis umbra Lucreti,
 " Magnificè scriptis jam decorata tuis.
 " Illic Miltonus, Popius, Drydenus, et ille
 " Naturæ potuit qui referare unus
 " Shaksperius—secus ac Cowperus, flebilis iste,
 " Orco quem ante diem bilis acerba dedit !
 " Hos—illos—istos adeas : Nam nulla cupido
 " Visendi heroas te capit—ipse scio :
 " Sunt generis vani, ac inflati pectora fastu ;
 " Semper gestantes triste supercilium."
 Sic fatus, tacuit—Cum tu, Gilberte, vicissim,
 Solvere sis visus talibus ora modis :
 " Si mihi permissum est optatâ fidere sede,
 " Sit cum philosophis sæpe sedile meum :
 " Philosophis, inquam, veris ; minimèque sophistis !
 " Isthæc mihi semper turba odiosa fuit.
 " Rhetoribus rarò jungar : nam garrula gens est,
 " Vendere quæ fumum vanaque verba solet :
 " Qualia multiloquus suevit depromere Pittus !
 " Qualia spumoso Windhamus ore vomit !
 " Sæpius ast inter sim claros nomine vates ;
 " Cumque illis liceat fundere molle melos :
 " Inter sim vates—vates mea pectora suavi
 " Carmine lætificent, blandisonisque modis.
 " Nil mihi cum vestris heroibus—Arma gerebant
 " Impia mente inopi, sanguineaque manu !
 " Sacram LIBERTATEM sternentes cuspide Martis,
 " Cudebant miseris non toleranda juga.
 " Ah ! procul, ah ! semper procul a me estote profani.
 " Nemo tyrannorum proximus esto mihi !"
 Optanda optasti, Wakefield !—O ! fors mihi tandem
 Sit similis—tecum et carmina sacra canam :

Carmina sacra canam, chordas et pectine pulsem,
 Indoctâ quamvis ac trepidante manu,
 Carmina sacra canam, faveat modo Musa canenti
 Suavis Terpsichore, suavior aut Erato:
 Me nam delectant dulces ante omnia Musæ;
 Musa mihi cunctis est medicina malis.
 Harum colloquiis blandis, Gilberte, fruaris;
 Atque his-cum liceat fundere molle melos.
 Nec ventura dies distat qua, flamine vitæ
 Truncato, celeri te pede, Amice, sequar.
 Morbificus languor jam fessos occupat artus.
 Paulatim emorior—Sed satis—Umbra, vale!

Londini, Prid. Non. Oct. 1801.

Of this Elegy no English translation has hitherto been offered to the public; the reader may therefore accept of the following:

TO THE SHADE OF
 GILBERT WAKEFIELD.

THEE too, the boast of every critic tongue,
 Has fate severe snatched headlong from our eyes;
 Snatched from a weeping wife, an offspring young,
 Friends dearly loved, and all the good and wise.
 How hard the doom!—In dungeons long enthralled,
 Scarce flies thy joyous foot their dreary bourn,
 When lo! to Death's dark mansions art thou called,
 Whence man returns not—nor can e'er return.
 True—good and bad, wise, simple, rich and poor,
 Whoe'er has drank th' ethereal flood of day,
 Kings, courtiers, beggars, must alike explore,
 Soon, or more late, th' irremeable way:

But who laments not that, while fools survive,
 While guilt grows old in infamy and crime,
 Worth, wisdom, piety, that chief should thrive,
 Fall like the rose-bud weltering in its prime?

But though too short the date to thee assigned,
 Not short the genuine fame just heaven imparts:
 Yes! thou hast lived—and long shall live, behind,
 Thy splendid image, WAKEFIELD! in our hearts.

Meanwhile betake thee to the fields of bliss,

Th' Elysian plains no cloud can e'er eclipse:

For not for thee yawns Erebus's dread abyss,

Nor pitchy Phlegeton shall soil thy lips.

No gray-beard judge shall now thy cause decide;

Impartial Minos here the balance holds:

Hark! as he sees thy spirit onward glide,

His tongue the ready plaudit thus unfolds:

"Fear not, pure shade! thy sufferings all, we know;

"These Hermes long has hastened to reveal:

"Though right and wrong be oft misnamed below,

"Substantial justice, here, alone we deal.

"Here rank is nought, and nought imperious power;

"'Tis VIRTUE, VIRTUE only can avail.

"Go—choose thy lot—command each future hour,

"All, all is thine, plain, woodland, hill and dale.

"Wouldst thou with Wisdom's sons divide the scene?

"Lo! PHERECYDES, SOLON at thy will;

"The SAMIAN, THALES, EPICURUS keen,

"STAGIRA's sage, and PLATO sager still.

"There, pride of Rome! th' illustrious CATOS shine;

"BRUTUS and PLINY, TULLY sweet of sound;

"There SENECA and MARCUS named *divine*

"By rank imperial less than virtue crowned.

- " Compatriot with thyself, amid the throng,
 " See LOCKE, see BACON, of coequal boast;
 " See NEWTON, first the sapient train among,
 " The fame and glory of the British coast.
 " Or does thine ear sweet oratory please,
 " With soothing sound, and soul-compelling power;
 " Lo! where ÆOLIDES suspends the breeze;—
 " The honeyed stream from NESTOR's lip devour:
 " Feast on the tones that PERICLES of old,
 " Like thunder, threw o'er deep-distracted Greece;
 " The torrent of DEMOSTHENES behold;
 " The golden periods, none would wish to cease,
 " Drink from the CICERONIAN fount that flows
 " Copious and calm: there FOX, in future time,
 " Not meanly seated, mid them shall repose,
 " Or break in tones as cogent and sublime.
 " Or wouldst thou mid thy favorite bards retreat,
 " And hear them still their melodies resume?
 " Lo! LINUS, HESIOD, MOSCHUS, BION sweet,
 " HOMER divine, and PINDAR bold of plume.
 " EURIPIDES, the drama's perfect type,
 " ÆSCHYLUS there, and SOPHOCLES resort;
 " The swain SICILIAN tunes his oaten pipe,
 " And, mid his snows, ANACREON still would sport.
 " There MARO, FLACCUS, and the bard who fell
 " Victim to love—to love the art he taught;
 " Sublime LUCRETIVUS, whom thy toils, so well
 " Spent while on earth, with splendor new have fraught.
 " There roam they all confociate; and with these
 " The British bards, ethereal MILTON, POPE,
 " DRYDEN, and he, who most the soul could seize
 " With mimic terror, or celestial hope,

" Immortal SHAKESPEARE : nor remotely roves
 " Pale COWPER, still by many a friend bewailed ;
 " Whom melancholy to th' infernal groves
 " Sent immature, e'er nature half had failed.

" Bards, sages, patriots—go, attend at will ;
 " For thee the train of heroes boasts no charm :
 " Spurn them—a race whom basest passions fill,
 " Vain, proud, perverse, intent on human harm.'

He ceased. And straight thy favored shade, I thought,

Thus, GILBERT! to the righteous judge replied :

" Since mine the boon to choose my future lot,

" Oh ! mid the sages let me e'er reside :

" Mid genuine sages, not the sophist race,

" Whom now, as ever, from my heart I hate ;

" Nor give me oft mid orators a place,

" Vain, senseless wranglers, full of fume and prate.

" Such, mid the senate, seemed loquacious PITT ;

" To pour the wordy torrent never loth :

" Such WINDHAM, when, by passion roused, he spit

" His burbling vomica of bilious froth.

" O ! let me oftener mid the bards renowned

" My station take and join their dulcet lay :

" O ! let the bards, with soft melodious sound,

" Soothe me, revive, and all my bosom sway.

" But from your heroes ever let me fly—

" Arms, impious arms, their hands barbarian wield ;

" Unawed by all the terrors of the sky,

" To all the charities of nature steeled.

" Struck by their spear, lo ! heavenly freedom falls,

" And countless burdens crush the crowds around :

" Hence, ye prophane ! your sight my soul appals ;

" Let never tyrant near my paths be found."

Most wise thy choice, dear WAKEFIELD! Such to me
 Should fate vouchsafe, thy harpings I will join;
 Yes, to thy heavenly harpings will I flee,
 And strike, with trembling hand, the strings divine.
 Loud will I strike them if the Muses smile,
 Sweet Terpsicore, Erato sweeter still:
 The Muses—every grief that best beguile,
 To me an antidote for every ill.
 Hear them, my friend! and with them oft unite;
 Soon shall I join thee as these tremors tell;
 Faint are my limbs—already Death's in sight—
 But 'tis enough—respected Shade, farewell!

Our learned but unfortunate friend, Gilbert Wakefield, died Sept. 9, in the present year (1801); and the above Elegy was written October 12, about a month after his decease. The last two couplets contain all the truth of prophecy or actual presentiment.

*Nec ventura dies distat qua, flamine vitæ
 Truncato, celeri te pede, Amice, sequar.
 Morbificus languor jam fessos occupat artus.
 Paulatim emorior.*

Soon shall I join thee as these tremors tell;
 Faint are my limbs—already Death's in sight.

In effect, it was not more than a day or two afterwards that the bed on which he died was removed from his own chamber on the second floor into the front room, or chief library, on the first, in

consequence of his being now incapable of moving either up or down stairs without extreme pain ; and from this bed he scarcely ever rose afterwards. To this assertion I nevertheless remember one exception, and it affords a strong proof of the occasional triumph of the mind, when roused to a high degree of excitement, over all the pains and infirmities of the body. I called at his house one morning, doubtful whether I should find him alive or dead : he had not actually expired, but had refused admittance to all except his professional friends. He was alone, and requested to see me. He was lying on his bed agonized with torture, ghastly in countenance, and extremely depressed in his spirits. He seized my hand with avidity ; “ Forgive me, my dear friend ! ” said he abruptly, while the tears started from his eyes—“ Forgive me this weakness ! I did think I should have been able to have endured suffering with more fortitude and resignation ; but I cannot support it, and am impatiently wishing for death.” I endeavoured to console him—and added, that instead of accusing him of weakness, all his friends were astonished at the general tranquillity and strength of mind with which he submitted to his affliction. By degrees I drew him into a conversation upon one or two subjects which I knew lay nearest his heart. I introduced his version of the Bible ; I requested in-

formation upon a passage in the Song of Solomon, which I was then in the act of translating: our ideas upon this passage did not altogether coincide; he became animated in the defence of his own opinion—he forgot the disease he was laboring under—suddenly rose from his bed—and to my utter astonishment ran rapidly up stairs in pursuit of some annotations of his own, which he had formerly written upon the controverted question. I remained with him for about half an hour afterwards, and he still continued to enjoy himself: he suffered me to depart with great reluctance, and thanked me most cordially for the good I had done him. He soon, however, relapsed, and died a few days afterwards, February 26, 1802, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; the rites of his own communion having been regularly administered to him, and received with great consolation on his own part, by M. St. Martin, a catholic clergyman and confidential friend.

It has been insinuated, in a Journal of extensive circulation, and insinuated moreover in terms equally uncandid and untrue, that on his death-bed he recanted many of his opinions, and that such recantation has been *studiously concealed*. What the opinions may be which are here referred to, or to what incident such a rumor owes its birth, I have not been able to learn, although I

have spared no pains in the investigation*. On the day anterior to his decease he was, as usual, visited by his friend M. St. Martin, professor of theology

* The passage I refer to is in the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1803, page 442; and possesses a superior authority as not introduced in the form of a casual or anonymous letter, but constituting a part of the section allotted by the proprietor to the review of new publications. It is as follows:

“Revelation was never attacked by a more uncandid, disingenuous, and artful opponent than Dr. Geddes. It must be matter of wonder how he drew in so many persons of eminence in sacred literature and criticism to espouse his labours, all of whom, as well as his patron, a peer of his own communion, we hesitate not to say, he beguiled; and, though he excited a civil war among the catholic party, who held him in deserved detestation, his dying recantation, like that of Voltaire, has been studiously concealed.”

Having never witnessed the remotest disposition to any recantation whatever, nor heard the smallest intimation of such a fact from any of Dr. Geddes's friends, I could not but be extremely astonished at the perusal of this very novel intelligence; and, among other persons to whom I applied for information, I addressed myself to M. St. Martin, from whom I received the detailed account inserted in the text: a short statement of this I immediately communicated by letter to Mr. Nichols, who, with a candor and liberality for which I am obliged to him, inserted the communication in his Journal for the ensuing month. In this letter I not only indeed requested such insertion, but entreated that I might be privately informed of the basis on which this extraordinary in-

and a doctor of the Sorbonne, who had officially attended him as his priest during the whole of his illness. I have been minute in my inquiries of this

telligence reposed, and pledged myself to introduce it into this work the moment it should be rendered even probable. It becomes me now therefore to state, that not a syllable of any explanation upon the subject whatever has since been communicated, either privately or publicly; whence it is obvious, without any reference to the detailed account above, that instead of Dr. Geddes, the reviewer himself has *recanted* his opinion and *studiously concealed* his *recantation*.

I have not the smallest idea that this paragraph was inserted either with the consent or knowledge of Mr. Nichols, whom I readily acquit of every degree of blame that attaches to it: but I cannot avoid observing that more apparent malevolence, as well as more positive errors, was never crowded into so short a space. It is a triple slander, equally aspersing the character of Dr. Geddes, of his patron lord Petre, and of his friends who visited him on his death-bed; and it is in every respect equally unfounded. So far as relates to himself, I have already proved it to be false; and consequently so far as relates to his friends: for if he never recanted, there never could be any *studied concealment* of such recantation. And as to the late truly noble and public-spirited lord Petre, I am authorized to say, that instead of his having been *beguiled* by any of the peculiar sentiments of Dr. Geddes, he never for a moment afforded his patronage to the doctor from the smallest disposition to embrace them, but because he believed him to be an honest and deserving man, as well as a most excellent biblical scholar; and that for himself he lived and died in the avowed profession of the common articles of the catholic creed; affording to bigotry and illiberality an illustrious proof that it

gentleman as to the conversation that occurred in the course of this and former interviews, that I might have the fuller opportunity of proving the gross false-

is possible for a munificent and enlightened man of one class of tenets to protect and patronize an indigent man of another, upon the sole grounds of individual merit and general utility.

The reviewer's motive for resembling the dying Geddes to the dying Voltaire can be more easily conceived than the resemblance itself can be traced; for never were two cases more opposite and unlike. The former was a professed christian; the latter a professed infidel. The whole life of the one was occupied in what he conceived to be an illustration and recommendation of the gospel: the whole life of the other in turning the gospel into ridicule and contempt. The house of the first, during his dying sickness, was open to all parties, both catholic and protestant, and his own creed was in many points different from the common creed of either: the house of the second was barricadoed by his friends alone, every one of whom was of his own infidel persuasion. An avowed change in the sentiments of Geddes must have necessarily been acceptable either to the one or the other class of his visitants, and, in some instances, might have been acceptable to both: a change in the sentiments of Voltaire was the grand point which was dreaded by his attendants, and which they endeavored to prevent by every possible exertion and dissuasive. Voltaire died in a state of agony and desperation, Geddes in perfect tranquillity and the very act of benediction.—It may reasonably be questioned whether revelation could ever sustain so much injury from what the writer of the above paragraph terms *the attacks of so disingenuous and artful an opponent*, as from the pious frauds, the malignant and unfounded insinuations of so injudicious a friend.

hood of the charge thus advanced. On entering the room, M. St. Martin found the doctor extremely comatose, and believed him to be in the utmost danger: he endeavoured to rouse him from his lethargy, and proposed to him to receive absolution. Dr. Geddes observed that, in such case, it was necessary he should first make his confession. M. St. Martin was sensible that he had neither strength nor wakefulness enough for such an exertion, and replied that *in extremis* this was not necessary: that he had only to examine the state of his own mind, and to make a sign when he was prepared. M. St. Martin is a gentleman of much liberality of sentiment, but strenuously attached to what are denominated the *orthodox* tenets of the catholic church: he had long beheld, with great grief of heart, what he conceived the aberrations of his learned friend; and had flattered himself, that in the course of this last illness he should be the happy instrument of recalling him to a full belief of every doctrine he had rejected; and with this view he was actually prepared upon the present occasion with a written list of questions, in the hope of obtaining from the doctor an accurate and satisfactory reply. He found however, from the lethargic state of Dr. Geddes, that this regular process was impracticable. He could not avoid, nevertheless, examining the

state of his mind as to several of the more important points upon which they differed. “You fully,” said he, believe in the scriptures?” He roused himself from his sleep, and said, “Certainly.” —“In the doctrine of the trinity?” —“Certainly, but not in the manner you mean.” —“In the mediation of Jesus Christ?” —“No, no, no—not as you mean: in Jesus Christ as our saviour—but not in the atonement.” I inquired of M. St. Martin if, in the course of what had occurred, he had any reason to suppose that his religious creed either now, or in any other period of his illness, had sustained any shade of difference from what he had formerly professed. He replied, that he could not positively flatter himself with believing it had: that the most comfortable words he heard him utter were immediately after a short pause, and before the administration of absolution, “I consent to all;” but that to these he could affix no definite meaning. I showed him the passage to which I now refer, in the Gentleman’s Magazine:—he carefully perused it, and immediately added that it was *false in every respect*. “It would have given me great pleasure,” said he, “to have heard him recant, but I cannot with certainty say that I perceived the least disposition in him to do so; and even the expression, “I con-

sent to all," was rather, perhaps, uttered from a wish to oblige me as his friend, or a desire to shorten the conversation, than from any change in his opinions. After having thus examined himself, however, for some minutes, he gave a sign of being ready, and received absolution as I had proposed to him. I then left him: he shook my hand heartily upon quitting him, and said that he was happy he had seen me."

It was the intention of this excellent priest to have visited him again in the evening, and to have passed the whole of the night in his room. On returning to the house, however, he was informed that the doctor's physicians had strictly prohibited his being seen by any of his friends that evening, in consequence of which M. St. Martin returned home with much reluctance; and on renewing his visit the next morning found he was just dead. A domestic of the catholic persuasion who lived in an adjoining house, and had been frequent in her inquiries concerning the doctor, knocked at his door as he was in the very act of dying; and his confidential servant, terrified at the appearance of her master, readily opened the door and requested her to walk up stairs. She beheld him almost at his last gasp, and immediately repeated, according to the rites of her church, the Creed, Paternoster,

and Ave Maria: Dr. Geddes just opened his eyes as she had concluded, gave her his benediction, and expired.

I am sorry I am compelled to add, that the conduct of the liberal-minded, the truly catholic, and truly christian M. St. Martin was not followed by his clerical superiors; and that the ceremony of saying public mass for the deceased was prohibited by an express interdict of Mr. Douglas, his vicar apostolic*. Let not the reader, however, condemn the whole body of English catholics for this act of malevolent bigotry; a bigotry which would follow with its persecution an honest and conscientious man into the next world, after having contributed all that was in its power to curtail his days in the present. I know, and am authorized to say, that this malignant prohibition was lamented and objected to by many of the most respectable laymen of the catholic church: and whatever be its blame therefore, it only attaches to that intolerant and contracted spirit which has been uniformly more obvious in the catholic priesthood than in the

* It is hence also obvious, that the catholic church itself never for one moment believed him to have *recanted*: the very prohibition indeed having been grounded upon a full persuasion, that Dr. Geddes died with the same sentiments with which he had lived.

people at large, from the fanaticism imbibed in the course of a foreign education, and which strenuously opposed and had nearly frustrated the two last very important statutes in favor of its own community. Such an interdict might, perhaps, have been justified had Dr. Geddes been formally excommunicated from the catholic pale—but its vindication requires arguments not readily to be advanced by the keenest casuist in the case of a member, who, like the deceased, had neither voluntarily withdrawn himself, nor been forcibly rejected by his community—who had avowed, through the whole of his life, a zealous attachment to the catholic church, and in death had dutifully complied with her most solemn requisitions.

CONCLUSION.

SUCH, as far as I have been able to collect it, is the history of the late Doctor Geddes; a man of no common character, and whose energy of mind and activity of body seemed engaged in a perpetual contest for the mastery. In his corporeal make he was slender, and in the bold and formidable outlines of his countenance not highly prepossessing on a first interview: but never was there a face or a form through which the soul developed itself more completely than through his own. Every feature, and indeed every limb, was in harmony with the entire system, and displayed the restless and indefatigable operations of the interior of the machine. A play of cheerfulness beamed uniformly from his cheeks, and his animated eyes rather darted than looked benevolence. Yet such was the irritability of his nerves, that a slight degree of opposition to his opinions, and especially when advanced by persons whose mental powers did not warrant such opposition, put to flight in a

moment the natural character of his countenance, and cheerfulness and benevolence were exchanged for exacerbation and tumult. Of this physical and irresistible impulse in his constitution no man was more thoroughly sensible than himself; and if no man ever less succeeded in subduing it, no man ever took more pains to obtain a victory. Let us, however, fairly strike the balance, and we shall find, that if such a peculiar construction of body had its evil, it also had its advantage; and that the very irritability of soul, which occasionally hurried him, against his consent, into a violence of controversy not perfectly consistent with the polished manners of the day, hurried him a thousand times oftener, and with a thousand times more rapidity, because assisted instead of opposed by his judgment, into acts of kindness and benevolence. The moment he beheld the possibility of doing good by his own exertions the good was instantly done, although it were to a man who, perhaps, had causelessly quarrelled with him a few hours before. It was not in his nature to pause with our academic and cold-blooded philosophers of the present day, that he might first weigh the precise demand of moral or political justice, and inquire into the advantage that would accrue to himself, or in what manner the world at large might be benefited ei-

ther by a good action or a good example—it was stimulus enough for him that distress existed, and that he knew it—and it afterwards afforded him satisfaction enough that he had removed or mitigated it.

In intellectual talents he had few equals, and fewer still who had improved the possession of equal talents in an equal degree. To an ardent thirst after knowledge in all its multitudinous ramifications he added an astonishing facility in acquiring and retaining it; and so extensive was his erudition, that it was difficult to start a subject into which he could not enter, and be heard with both attention and profit. But theology was the prime object of his pursuits, the darling science of his heart, which he had indefatigably studied from his infancy, and to which every other acquisition was made to bend. From his verbal knowledge of the Bible he might have been regarded as a living concordance; and this not with respect to any individual language alone, or the various and rival renderings of any individual language, but a concordance that should comprise the best exemplars of the most celebrated tongues into which the Bible has ever been translated. As an interpreter of it, he was strictly faithful and honest to the meaning, or what he apprehended to be the meaning, of his original; and though in his critical remarks upon

the text he allowed himself a latitude and a boldness which injured his popularity, and drew down upon his head a torrent of abusive appellations*, how seldom have we seen a man systematically edu-

* These did not altogether cease with his death. In the obituary of a Journal I have already had occasion to advert to, the Gentleman's Magazine for the month of March 1802,—his biographer, after noticing his decease, adds, "How far it may be permitted to interest Providence in such events others will determine; it may not be unworthy serious reflection, that this libertine in religious and political sentiments is removed, after having been permitted to concur with the *Author of all Evil* in exercising the faith and patience of the saints." There can be little doubt that the writer of this paragraph is the writer of that I have been compelled to notice in page 521. The cause of this inextinguishable hatred I know not; but the censor should at least have had mercy upon Mr. Nichols the proprietor of the Journal, if he could have found no mercy for Dr. Geddes. The world at large is not capable of discriminating between the owner of a work and the work itself, and too generally vents its wit or its anger upon the former, for abuse of which he is totally incapable, and of whose existence he is altogether ignorant. Thus it seems to have happened in the present case: a letter of a different complexion, addressed to Mr. Nichols under the character of Mr. Urban, was, with the accustomed liberality of this gentleman, admitted into the same Journal the ensuing month; it was dated from Pandemonium, and actually signed Satan: in it the prince of darkness instructs the journalist, that he knew nothing of Dr. Geddes personally, and was only acquainted with his name by having been informed that he was his implacable and irreconcilable enemy. This *Author of all Evil* adds, that to prevent any deception upon this point

cated in the characteristic tenets of any established community whatsoever, and especially of the church of Rome, who when he has once begun to feel his independence, and has determined to

he had himself "called for and examined the attested returns of the increased population of his kingdom—and had summoned his officers whose attention and vigilance have never been questioned"—and he could positively answer, therefore, that neither was his name on the public rolls of his court, nor was "the supposed fugitive in any part of his dominion."

This opposition of evidence, or rather *recantation* of opinion, was the subject of much conversation at the time among the doctor's friends. Mr. Nichols himself was, as usual, supposed to have written both accounts; and among other epigrams which were circulated upon the occasion, I remember having seen the following:

NICK AND NICHOLS.

Says NICHOLS to NICK—" 'Tis well known to all earth
 " That this biblical GEDDES in hell had his birth;
 " Permitted by heaven, void of pains or restraints,
 " To try for a space the pure faith of the saints."

Says NICK to JOHN NICHOLS—" You err, my dear friend!
 " Search the lists of our hosts—no such name there is penn'd:
 " None our forces, I grant, than yourself better knows,
 " But this GEDDES, dear JOHN! was our fiercest of foes."

In another English journal however (the Monthly Magazine, April 1802) he is liberally allowed his merits in terms which I believe have been followed by no drawback, or similar opposition of evidence, and is described as "a man,

shake off his fetters, and to think for himself, has not flown much further from the goal at which he started! The general ambition, corruption, and

who by his acute and penetrating genius—his various, profound, and extensive erudition—his deep research—his indefatigable application—and his independent, dignified, and unfettered spirit, rising superior to the prejudices of education, nobly disdaining the shackles of system; spurning the petty temporizing arts of unmanly accommodation; and setting at defiance all the terrors of malignity, bigotry, and intolerance, was supereminently qualified for the great, laborious, and important work in which he had, for a long series of years been engaged, of giving an English version of the venerable literary remains of sacred antiquity—the scriptures of the Old and New Testament.”

Nor were many of the foreign journals less forward to testify, in their notice of his decease, his various literary talents, and his unblemished moral virtues. To copy all those which I have myself perused would be to swell the present note to a most immoderate bulk; as a specimen of the general esteem in which he was held on the continent, I shall therefore confine myself to a single extract from Ethinger's *Gothaische Gelehrte Zeitungen*, No. 29, Apr. 10, 1802.

“Am. 26 Feb. litt die theol. Literatur in England, und die Wissenschaft überhaupt, einen höchst empfindlichen und in mehr als einer hinsicht unerfetzlichen verlust durch den tod des gelehrten und wahrhaft verdienstvollen Doctors Alexander Geddes, der auch im Auslande sehr vortheilhaft bekannt ist. Er war ein Mann von seltenen talenten, und gehörte zu den aufgeklärtesten, gelehrtesten und scharfsinnigsten Theologen und Philologen in England. Seine bis zum

profligacy of the catholic hierarchy—of those very pontiffs who claim to be the direct successors of the apostles—and through whose medium alone he

dritten bande erschienene, Bibelübersetzung, nebst dem kritisch-philologischen Commentar, seine vielen kleinen Schriften, lateinische—englische—und französische—Gedichte, und Flugblätter, welche nur wenigen als seine arbeit bekannt wurden, sind das schönste denkmal seines hellen kopfes, seiner gelehrsamkeit, seines geschmacks und des feinsten lebendigsten witzes, der ihn bei dem sanftesten, wohlwollendsten herzen und edelsten charakter zu dem liebenswürdigsten gesellschafter, und allen die ihn näher kannten unendlich theuer machte.”

“ On the twenty-sixth of February, theological science in England, and literature in every quarter, sustained a deep, a sensible, and in more than one respect an irreparable loss by the death of the learned, honest, and highly meritorious Doctor Alexander Geddes, whose labors are well known to have been extensively useful even to foreign countries. He was a man of singular talents, and listened to by the most enlightened, erudite, and sagacious theologians and philosophers in England. The three volumes of his Translation of the Bible which have already appeared, together with his critical and philological Commentary, his numerous little pieces in Latin, English, and French; his fugitive and fanciful publications, which add in no trivial degree to his labors, are the fairest monument of his clear head, of his erudition, of his taste, and of the keen vivacious wit, which, in conjunction with a soft, benevolent heart, and an unblemished character, perpetually endeared him to men of real worth, and especially to all who were intimately acquainted with him.”

believed himself capable of being acknowledged a member of Christ's visible church—whose persons he was bound to revere, and whose ordinances implicitly to obey—became the first stumbling-block to his faith : and let those who conceive that the situation of a mind thus liberated from the bondage of its former creed, and all afloat in pursuit of a new and a better, is not in the highest degree critical and perilous—who find no difficulty in fixing the precise point between blindly believing too much and philosophically believing too little, once more return to the history of Voltaire, D'Alembert, Diderot, and their fellow encyclopedists, who, instructed in revealed religion from the same source, disgusted with the same criminalities and contradictions, and resolved, upon similar grounds, to act and determine for themselves—fled from catholicism to infidelity, and confounded the truths and simplicity of the gospel with the frauds, superstitions, and mummeries, with which in their own country they had been too generally interwoven.

To an universal knowledge of the Bible, Dr. Geddes added a deep and elaborate acquaintance with the history of his own church; and so thoroughly was he versed in its annals, in its jurisprudence, in its polemics, that I have good authority for asserting that even at the Vatican it was

doubted whether the papal dominions themselves could produce his superior.

His classical attainments, if not of the first rate, were of a very distinguished character; and, when in his own language, he wrote with coolness and circumspection, his diction, which was always perspicuous, was peculiarly elegant and correct. His style is nevertheless extremely variable: he often composed precipitately, and occasionally in a state of high mental irritation; and though there be a character which still adheres to what he wrote and fully deciphers the writer, his compositions uniformly partake of the predominant sensation of the moment. In few words he was a benevolent man, an accomplished scholar, an indefatigable friend, and a sincere christian.

At his own particular desire his remains were interred in Paddington church-yard, being the parish in which he died; and his funeral was attended by a long procession of carriages, not indecently empty and sent for the mere purpose of external parade, but filled with friends who were strenuously attached to his person, and will long venerate his memory; and who, though divided by different tenets into almost every class of christian and even political society, here consented to forget every nominal separation, and to unite in taking one common and affectionate farewell of a man who

had been an honor to the generation in which he lived.

A plain marble monument, with a short inscription engraven on it, selected from his own works, has been erected to his memory by his patron lord Petre, and is affixed to the outside of the entrance into the church.

APPENDIX.

The following is a selection from the correspondence referred to in the note at the foot of page 493. It might have been extended, but the specimen here offered is deemed sufficient.

M. PAULUS TO DR. GEDDES.

Jenæ sub finem Marti 1800.

NOLI, quæso, vir celeberrime atque amicissime, unquam suspicari, gratissimam recordationem virorum omnium, qui de me in Anglia commorato bene meriti sunt, meâ memoriâ posse ex-cidere. Immo vero quotidie benevolentia memini, qua hominem juvenem at peregrinum excipere dignati sunt viri eruditissimi, muneribus atque auctoritate inter suos gravissimi; inter quos quanti inprimis Te non possim non facere, non doctrinæ solum copiâ sed ingenii potissimum elegantia, ubertate, subtilitate, morumque candore, suavitate, liberalitate insignem, Tua illa me filere jubet modestia. Faciem Tuam omnemque illam ingenuitatem, quâ me primâ statim occasione, cum Te adirem, amplexus es, adhuc ante oculos habeo lætusque sæpe recolligo. Sed is est Jenæ nostræ situs mediterraneus, ea a mari, quod vos, Britanni, jam ubique soli tenetis, disjunctio, ut per hoc, quod Jenæ transegi, decennium de commercio literarum non nimis interrupto cogitare non potuissem. Etiam munera, quæ subieram, academica magno erant impedimento. Postquam nimirum literas orientales per aliquot annos docueram, nunc ex preparatis hanc in rem studiis otium aliquod mihi captaturus, ecce ad Theologiæ Professionem ordinariam transire permotus tanquam de novo in stadium fere immensum me immittere cogebat. In nostris Academiis quovis die binas

vel tres lectiones diversi argumenti exponere, præterea multos, cum nimis multi inter nos edantur, libros legere debemus, ut recentissimarum in re theologica disquisitionum seriem et filum manu quasi teneamus ~~in~~ne abrumpendum. Et in philosophicis apud nos multa de novo pertractantur, quæ non perpendisse Academico Theologo ignominia foret. Quæ quidem omnia eo potissimum fine commemorasse liceat, ut mihi non Anglice ad Te perscribenti facilius ignosceres. Non neglexi linguam vestram, quâ libros lectitans non paucos, vestris insulis of the dear old England propius semper mihi admotus videor. Sed loquendi facultas, quæ, ut bene nosti, perexigua fuit, deficiente exercitatione nimis, eheu, deminuta se mihi subtraxit incauto. Quæ tamen ut optimo velut incitamento nutriatur, rogo etiam atque etiam, velis, Vir Amicissime! semper vernaculâ vestrâ ad me scribere, quâ lectâ Tuos ego sonos placidos suavesque iterum auscultare mihi videbor.

Quæris ex me: "Did you ever receive the first two volumes of my Bible? They were sent to you last year (1797), about this time." Doleo admodum, me non posse non respondere: "Never, Sir! I have not seen any sheet of yours." De jacturâ transmissorum exemplarium est, cur eo magis doleam, cum semper optassem, in nostra Allgemeine Litteratur Zeitung operis eximii Tuique ipsius mentionem facere eam, quam animus in Te meus efflagitasset. Jamdudum etiam Cel. Holmesii interim editos *Accounts* et de vasto illo suo collationis Septuagintabiralis molimine, atque editum postea illius primum volumen in Jenensin me non accepisse, dolui. Inde evenit, ut alius nescio quis in eâ ipsâ Allg. Litteraturzeitung recensionem primi ex Genesi Specimenis, quod ego adhucdum non vidi, inferendam daret non sane æquam satis, sed illiberalem, Cujus censuræ ut ne forte me auctorem suspicetur Vir, cui multas debeo gratias ac semper habebo, hisce meis verbis ut significare velis, Vir amicissime, enixe a Te peto. Qua data opportunitate reliquis etiam, qui Oxonii mihi faverunt, viris

doctissimis, ut Dr. *Ford*, Mr. *Winstanley*, Bibliothecario Mr. *Price*, memorem mentem gratissimamque testari posse velim. Doctiss. *White* an partem anni degat Oxonii, nescio. Vir optimæ indolis etiam in me animo fuit benevolentissimo Britanniaque Vestra dignissimo, cuius rei in me superesse sensus vivacissimos, si forte ex Glocestria sua Londinum adit, meo nomine ipsi testeris enixe obsecro.

Oxonii etiam familiaritas mihi magna fuit cum Mr. *John Barham*, qui post meum abitum uxorem duxit virginem *Jill*: per Helvetiam peregrinatus est, Jenam vero non attigit, sed in Britanniam redux vivit in provinciâ nescio quâ. Utinam felix fortunatusque!

Nunc per Doctiss. et Amiciss. Prof. *Timæum* vobiscum aliquam communicandi viam mihi aperiri, quam maxime lætor. Accipe mea "Selecta Capita Introductionis in N. T." nec non "Commentarii in N. T. primam partem," juncto alio Schediasmate qualicunque. Doleo cessasse Vestrum Analytical Review. Optarem sane, Tuo beneficio ut libelli hi etiam in Anglia possent innotescere. Exegeleos enim fundamentis mere historicis nixæ Systema aliquod per hosce conatus inchoare suscepi, absque hæreseos, quæ ingeri fortassis posset, metu. Multa sane hoc in genere non nisi per conjecturam poni possunt. Sed etiam "possibilitates," quas vocant, exponi debere videntur, de rebus, quæ nimis festinanter pro miraculis omni vî naturæ leges habere solent, eam unice ob causam, quod pauci τῶν περιστασέων historias naturales, causas et physiologicas et psychologicas in medium proferre audent hæresiomastigum fomidine tacti. Explicatio alicujus possibilitatis, licet forte rem gestam non acu tetigerit, ostendit certe, veri nominis miraculum, hoc est, factum per omnem naturæ vim et concursum plane non possibile ibi minime esse præsumendum.

Vinariæ (Weimar) quæ metropolis hujus Ducatûs Saxonici non nisi 4 horis distat Jenæ, nunc demum instituitur bibliopolium cum Anglia recta via communicaturum. Spero, fore,

ut, hoc instituto succedente, mihi etiam vobiscum sæpius aliquid communicandi ac vestra accipiendi aperiatur opportunitas. Londini vir doctus, *Hülner*, qui peregrinationi in Chinam Macartneyanæ interfuit, est the correspondent of this Institute, called the "Industrie Comtoir zu Weimar." Alio tempore plura. Vale Vir Amicitia et Doctrinâ mihi Venerabilis atque Æstumatissime, et me, ut facis, amare perge.

H. E. G. PAULUS.

M. EICHHORN TO DR. GEDDES.

TANDEM aliquando, amicissime Geddes, ad litteras tuas perhumaniter ad me datas respondeo; non, quod silentii, quod ægre tenui, rationes jam remotæ sint, verum ne ingratus tibi videar. Ex quo operis tui biblici partes adhuc editas, quæ interioris tuæ linguarum orientalium cognitionis, atque criticæ tuæ sagacitatis insignia documenta continent, tibi tuæque liberalitati debeo, serio cogitavi, ut vestigiâ tua legerem, librumque unum atque alterum cognatum elaborarem, quo aliquid haberem, quod grati animi testandi causa et tibi tradere possem. Verum belli difficultates, quæ Germaniam premunt, earumque pericula, in dies latius sese extendentia, bibliopolas Teutonicos a redimendis libris ad litteraturam antiquam et biblicam pertinentibus absterrent, quoniam et paucas emtores habent, et magnos sumtus postulant, ut adeo ad hunc usque diem bibliopolam nullum habeam, qui per ipsa belli tempora ab rerum nostrâ ætate incertitudinem et inconstantiam commentariis meis biblicis, tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, quos lingua Latina exarare constitui, in vulgus emittendis sumtus erogare velit. Ne tamen per hos annos, qui Musis parum favent, donec meliora tempora illuxerint, studiis biblicis plane, deessem, unum atque alterum poëtam Hebræum in Germanicam linguam transtuli; cujus versionis specimen per æstatem

præteritam typis exprimendum curavi, ejusque exemplar his litteris adjuxi, ut meum qualem cunque laborem tuo judicio submitterem. *Tu enim fere unicus es, quem, si liceret, judicem mihi expeterem; quandoquidem tu in litteris biblicis habitas, in eodem stadio magnâ cum laude decurris, omnesque difficultates et molestias, quæ talem cursum impediunt, ipsâ experientiâ edoctus, nosti, ut adeo nemo facile ad judicium tam æquius quam rectius ferendum cogitari possit.*

Interea si mihi contingeret esse tam felici, ut trecenta exempla commentariorum meorum ab Anglis emerentur, sine mora eorum ad finem perducendorum et typis tradendorum operam in me suscriperem. Griesbachianæ Novi Testamenti editioni rara hæc et singularis contigit fortuna, ut magna pars exemplarium ab unico dynasta Anglico (Lord) emeretur, quæ inter ecclesiæ ministros, quibus res angusta domi est, dividenda curaret. Insigne omnino liberalitatis piæ documentum, cujus tamen fructus non nisi dubii et incerti esse possunt, cum illa editio intra angustos criticos limites sese contineat, nec ipsi textui explicando quicquam lucis afferat; mei vero commentarii hanc rationem sequerentur, ut et textum quam accuratissime recenserent, et prolixo commentario multisque epimetris et excursibus illustrarent; et, nisi omnia me fallunt, infinitis locis et omnibus fere pericopis novam lucem accenderent, ex ea fere ratione, cujus specimina plura in bibliotheca litteraturæ biblicæ, quam adhuc edidi, leguntur. Verum omnem fere spem abjicio, fore ut aliquando ad hoc opus, quod diu præparavi, perficiendum, perpoliendum et typis mandandum me accingere possim, quandoquidem per vegetiores vitæ meæ annos belli molestiis et difficultatibus impediior, atque cum incertum sit, an futuro seculo litteris severioribus meliora tempora insint, nolim tempus meum, oleum et operam libris exarandis perdere, qui futuro etiam tempore in publicam lucem prodeundi opportunitate carerent.

Adjunxi his litteris, quæ tibi a cursore publico Hannove-

rano, qualibet quarta anni parte in Angliam proficiscente (Quartal Courir) perferentur, fasciculum iii. Part ix. bibliothecæ meæ biblicæ, in quâ ad lectores meos retuli de magnis Anglorum de interiori Africâ delegendâ promeritis. Nuspiam adhuc talis recensio existat, ut adeo in spem ingrediar, fore ut nec Africanæ Societati, imprimis per-illustri Banksio mea de itineribus ad huc in Africam susceptis relatio displiceat.

Vale, amicissime Geddes, meque, ut ad huc fecisti, porro ama; tibi que persuade, meam erga te observantiam nulli temporum ac rerum vicissitudini esse obnoxiam adeoque fore perpetuam. Scripsi Gottingæ, d. 1 Sept. 1800.

F. G. EICHHORN.

Scriptæ jam erant hæ litteræ, cum mihi afferretur liber tuus apologeticus, novum tuæ erga me amicitiae pignus. Accipe, quas tibi refero gratias, quas possum maximas: Novam mihi parasti voluptatem, quâ proximis diebus librum tuum perlegendo fruar. Legi ante annum et quod excurrit, parari Introductionis meæ in V. T. versionem Anglicam: an in publicum prodierit, comperiri nondum potui. Iterum iterumque χαίρει.

DR. GEDDES TO M. EICHHORN.

LITTERÆ tuæ mellitissimæ, Calend. Septembr. datæ, ad me tandem viii. Calend. Decembr. perlatae sunt: cum duobus pretiosis opusculis, pro quibus gratias habeo maximas. Jobum tuum, magna cum aviditate, summaque voluptate perlegi, et contuli cum versione Theotisca Michaëlis. Miror virum celeberrimum *Redemptorem* et *vitam alteram* invenisse in cap. xix. 25, &c. maximè cum ipse Jobum antiquiorem Mose existimet. In tua, mi Eichhorni, hujusce pericopes versione, displicet,

quod *ἡδυ* *amicos* esse Jobi putes. Metaphora nimis dura mihi videtur, ut et Dathio visa est. Sed hoc modeste sit dictum: Tibi forsitan mea versio, quodammodo mihi propria, non minus displicebit.

Optavi sæpius, ut tu te ad scribendos perpetuos in scripturas tum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti commentarios converteres; doleoque deesse bibliopolas, qui eos prælo mandent. Spero tamen fore, ut dies faustiores videamus: cum Bellona, saturata sanguine, locum Minervæ sit cessura. Hos commentarios te Latine scripsisse gaudeo: vix etenim est credibile, quam pauci ex nostratibus Teutonicam callent. Trecenta exemplaria in Britannia totâ emptum iri, non ausim affirmare: sed si velis mihi Conditiones (*Proposals*) transmittere, in nostris diariis imprimantur, curabo; sensus exploratum publicos. Hoc unum spondeo, me pro te et nomina et nummus recepturum: sed timeo ut homines nostri prænumerare velint.

Quod ad Isægogen tuam attinet, si mea valuissent vota, jamdudum Anglicanâ veste induta evasisset: et memet, si per otium licuisset, interpretem haberes. Sed iter longum, vita brevis: et

Non omnia possumus omnes.

Llbydius, quidem, in Academiâ Cantabrigensi Heb. l. professor, hoc nuper, meditatus est opus, sed num perficiat, dubito. Is, anno proxime elapso, ad me scripsit se versionem Anglicam Introductioni Eichhornii parare, rogavitque, ut sibi per scriptas litteras significarem, an gratum mihi laborem subiturus esset. Respondi: nihil mihi posse fieri gratius—hortatus sum, ut tam utili labori se extemplo daret—centum promisi nomina *subscripturum*. Adhuc hominem non videram: nam rarissime ab urbe discedo. Ille meis excitatus letteris huc advolat—Prospectum imprimit—epistolas ad Ecclesiæ præfules aliosque doctores mittit: nil dubitans, omnes, uno ore, votis suis suffragaturos, et nomina daturos.—Ego vero: “Noli

“ inquebam, nimis esse credulus : in tuis fautoribus, non
 “ erunt, si quid sciam, episcopi: nolunt illi opera Eichor-
 “ niana idiomate Anglico donari.”—Risit intemperantius!
 Subrisi tantum, dicens : “ videbimus.”

Elapso vix mense, ad me rediit, anhelans : “ Tu, inquit,
 nostras præsules rectius novisti, quam ego novi.”—Scilicet
 responsa tulerat frigidissima. Duo tantum episcopi nomina
 dederant, quæ postea subtraxêre. Roffensis (Horsley) læte
 dedit responsum quale non est datum, ab origine mundi, a
 viro honesto, honesto alteri. Sed non tantum cum Episcopis,
 et Episcopicolis, erat Lloydio luctandum. Solent universi-
 tates nostræ opera professorum typis academicis gratis im-
 primere : hoc Lloydio negatum est. An contra stimulos
 calcitret, et repugnantibus Episcopis et Academiæ primori-
 bus, versionem suam publici juris faciat, dubito.

Dynasta, Griesbachii patronus, est Dux de Grafton ; vir
 quidem bonarum litterarum amantiſſimus, sed minime locu-
 ples. Fuit quondam Regis nostri Minister primarius; sed
 diu est, quo curiæ valedixit ; et nunc otio cum dignitate, sive
 rure sive urbe, fruitur. Is chartam Griesbachio subpeditavit
 pro certo numero Exemplarium N. T. Græci : sed hæc ex-
 emplaria non omnia gratis distributa sunt. Plura sunt vendita,
 mediocri quidem pretio : sed tamen sunt vendita.—Quoad re-
 ligionem, Dux est *Socinianus* ; seu, ut nos loquimur, *Unita-*
rianus ; liberalis tamen, siquis alius ; et, ut verbo dicam, vere
 Christianus. Solus est, opinor, qui versionem meam Pentateu-
 chi cum Septuaginta exemplari contulit (nam Hebr. non no-
 vit) legente Anglicam unâ ex filiabus, ipso inspiciente Græcam,

Rara avis in terris, nigroque simillima cygno !

Observationes meæ criticæ, post multas moras, jam lucem
 viderunt. Earum exemplar te quam primum salutabit : una

cum aliis quibusdam lucubratiunculis, quas diversis temporibus, luditandi gratiâ scripsi.—Nam illud

Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis

semper in honore habui: nec senescenti displicet, quod placuit adolescenti.

Mihi sæpe scribas oro: et quidem per tabellarium publicum ordinarium: nunquam enim libentius zonam meam parvam solvo quam cum amicorum epistolas redimo. Inter amicos autem meos nullum pluris facio quam amicissimum mihi Eichhornium.

Vale, et me, ut amas, ama.

A. GEDDES.

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